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Mapping the American West*

By CARL I. WHEAT

MY interest in the mapping of the American Trans-mississippi West grew out of a study I made some years ago of maps portraying the California Gold Region. That effort, in turn, stemmed from the confusion and lack of understanding of such documents and their peculiar import that I had discerned in many booksellers' catalogues, in bibliographies, and even in the works of the most knowledgeable historians. Fundamentally, I suppose, my interest in maps arose from early experiences when I trailed my father and a burro through the byways of the Sierra Nevada and the Coast Ranges, with the aid of the remarkable topographic quadrangles of the United States Geological Survey.

It was while examining maps contemporaneous with the California Gold Rush that I was struck with the graphic nature of the tale they unfolded. The development of knowledge of a given region is frequently better told by such documents than by even the best efforts of historians. This I found to be particularly the case with respect to the gold diggings, and in the course of my search for maps that exemplified that great human experience,

* Read at the meeting of the Society at The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, August 27, 1955, with Henry R. Wagner as guest of honor.

the Gold Rush, I was brought face to face—willy-nilly—with many maps affording information about much wider areas. I was thus drawn inevitably to the study of what the maps show as to the development and expansion of knowledge of the entire American West.

The period of this expansion of knowledge was itself of interest, extending as it did from 1540, a bare half century after the landfall of Columbus, to what seemed to be its logical closing near the mid-point of the nineteenth century. The explorations exemplified upon the maps of these three hundred years formed the basis for the incursion of population which during the latter half of the past century bore fruit in the great commonwealths that have sprung up where once only a few Indians made their abodes. This explosive peopling of the North American continent will doubtless one day be recognized as one of the greatest of human events, resulting as it did in making the United States a continental country, and forming the background for the emergence of the nation as a world power. This could never have taken place had the United States continued pressed into the territory east of the Mississippi, and the maps for which I was searching told ever so graphically how these events came about, and who had been responsible for the advance of knowledge on which these developments were founded.

For convenience, I limited my search to maps of Western areas generally within the borders of what is now the United States, and for an eastern boundary I accepted the one-hundredth meridian. This was the area chosen generally for some of the great governmental surveys of the sixties and seventies. The meridian, which runs close to Bismarck, North Dakota; North Platte, Nebraska, and Dodge City, Kansas, seemed to afford an excellent eastern limit, with the Pacific littoral, the region's only absolute boundary, lying to the west, the Canadian border stretching along the north, and Mexico along the south.

Here was a broad expanse which to the first Europeans who

encroached upon it was a wholly unknown land. It was not and is not a simple geographic area. Its physiography is in fact extremely complicated, a domain of widely varying climate, scenery and topography. It embraces much of the plains country—the old buffalo range—where the land rises almost imperceptibly from the Mississippi bottoms to the front wall of the Rocky Mountains. It holds in its bosom many great mountain ranges and the watersheds of a number of major river systems, while within it is the vast area termed the "Great Basin," with its salty lakes and its rivers having no access to the sea. Many years ago an astute observer wrote graphically of this tremendous arena:

> Were it possible for an observer to be poised far above the surface of the earth, near the locality where the Teton Mountains lift their majestic summits above the clouds, and were he endowed with a power of vision that could pierce to the uttermost verge of the horizon, he would see beneath and around him a panorama . . . of mountains and plains, of lakes and rivers, of forest-crowned hills and treeless deserts, that stretches away to the distant alluvial plains of the Mississippi on the east and to the broad expanse of the Pacific in the west.
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> The first and most obvious feature of the landscape thus spread out like a map before the eye, is its vast aggregation of mountains. Except far to the eastward, peaks innumerable arise on every hand. Some extend in well-defined ranges like broken ridges on the surface of the earth; others stand alone like solitary protuberances from its crust. The variety of form and aspect is infinite. Here a pointed spire of primeval rock stands motionless among the shifting clouds; there a flat mesa or table, crowned with grassy sward, terminates in bold escarpments overlooking the snow, grey patches of rock where vegetation never thrives, broad acres of evergreen forest, wide-spreading slopes of native pasture.[1]

It is difficult, almost impossible, for us of today to conceive of this great region as it was when men of European stock first set foot in its fastnesses. It seems strange—though it was historically inevitable—that it took men of several nations more than three hundred years to achieve the knowledge requisite for the build-

[1] Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West.* Ltd. rev. and enl. ed. (Elmira, N. Y., Wilson-Erickson, Inc., 1935), II, 719.

ing of a reasonably accurate map of the region. Even today there exist Western areas largely unknown and still unmapped, such as the wild gorges that make up the upper complex of Navajo Canyon, in Northern Arizona. It has twice been my privilege there to lead exploratory parties carrying the flag of the Explorers Club of New York.

The mapping of the American West was accomplished only through long and toilsome effort. First came Spaniards from the south, the primary natural entry for Europeans into the region. Then canoe-borne Frenchmen pierced it faintly from the east, followed by Britons, also in search of furs. It was not until the onset of the nineteenth century that men of the infant United States entered the area, for it was during 1804-1806 that Lewis and Clark made the first transcontinental crossing south of what is now Canada and north of the far-southern Spanish settlements of New Mexico, the Gila Basin and the California coast.

Soon, however, American fur trappers were delving into much of the area, and in 1826 Jedediah Smith, the West's greatest single explorer, made it through from the recently discovered Great Salt Lake to southern California. He also achieved the first crossing of the Sierra Nevada and the Great Basin, and he pioneered the route north from California to the British Hudson's Bay Company's posts on the Columbia.

A few years later came the Army's Topographical Engineers and the Mexican War, while the onset of emigration to Oregon and the discovery of gold in California led to greatly accelerated exploration—and to many important maps. During the early fifties, expeditions seeking routes for the transcontinental railroads added vastly to the then rapidly expanding knowledge. In 1857 Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, drew a memorable map, the first to give reasonable cartographic representation to the entire area. Much was left to be done over later years, but Lieutenant Warren's great map was an achievement of first importance.

In a study published by the American Antiquarian Society late in 1954, I considered some three hundred maps that—over the years from 1540 to 1857—seemed to exemplify the development of the knowledge essential to Lieutenant Warren's massive effort. That study was admittedly preliminary in nature, and I am now engaged in a much-expanded examination of the mapping of the American West in which almost a thousand maps will be discussed and bibliographically catalogued. The study has occupied much time over a score of years, and even now new data are being uncovered in the great map collections and the many reports and other documents that bear upon the conquest of the West.

Since Lieutenant Warren fitted together the terrestrial and astronomical findings almost a century ago, however, the cartographic process has been largely one of the filling in of detail. Before his day, the story was one of faltering, sometimes long-halted progress, until, with the gold discoveries and the coming of Anglo-Saxons into the entire region, man's knowledge proved at last sufficient to provide a solid foundation for adequate mapping. For almost two centuries the expansion of understanding was a mere trickle; then it became a brook, and finally, near the mid-point of the nineteenth century, it resolved itself into a mighty flood. With this process, the present story is concerned.

The first-comer of European blood to the American West, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, made no map of his experience. Nor did the next visitor, Fray Marcos de Niza. But it was not long after Niza's return to Mexico in 1539 that the strange names he gave to the places he had visited began to appear on European maps. Unfortunately, the earliest map actually drawn in and of any part of the area—the chart of his route sent in 1540 by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado to the King's Viceroy in Mexico City—has been lost, but Niza place names are to be found on a little oval world map produced by Battista Agnese in Venice as early as 1541 (possibly in 1540), and in 1556 certain of Coronado's names

were used by Giacomo Gastaldi on a map published in the third volume of Ramusio's celebrated *Navigationi et Viaggi.*

Since they had no topography to tie into, the European cartographers soon began to let these place names wander all over their maps. The Seven Cities of Cíbola were given prominence, and the small pueblos of our Southwest became to the mapmakers the mighty empires of Quivira and Teguayo and Tontonteach, sometimes appearing as far west as the Pacific littoral, sometimes as far north as the mythical Strait of Anian which so much intrigued the cartographers. There was always a great deal of imagination, with the "Island of California" appearing on maps for more than a century, and the wholly apocryphal "Sea of the West" later occupying much of the area for a generation.

Apparently the first actual map dating from this early period to survive to the present day is a small, crude sketch preserved in the Archive of the Indies at Seville. This precious relic was prepared by one Enrique Martínez in Mexico City in 1602, to assist the Viceroy in reporting on the expedition led by Don Juan de Oñate into what is now New Mexico, which started in 1598. If at first this rough sketch seems inadequate, an understanding of certain east–west foreshortenings renders it entirely comprehensible—in fact, quite remarkable—for it covers not only the Rio Grande valley but the region to the northeast as far as the land called Quivira, in present day Kansas, to which Oñate made an exploratory dash in 1601.

The commercial cartographers of Europe still had little to go by, and the first on-the-spot maps into which they could really sink their teeth did not eventuate until a full century after Martínez drew his little sketch. In 1701, however, Father Eusebio Kino, Jesuit missionary to Pimería Alta (now southern Arizona) explored the head of the Gulf of California, exploded the Island of California theory, and in 1705 saw the map of his "Paso por Tierra à la California" published in Europe, in the Jesuit Missionary Letters. Early in the seventeen-twenties the first trained

engineer visited the Spanish "Frontier Provinces," and Francisco Barreiro's maps were models, though they were unfortunately locked up by the secretive Spaniards and uncovered only in comparatively recent years. About the time of the American Revolution, however, maps by Fathers Font and Garcés, and by the engineers Costansó and Lafora, gave form to much of the Spanish borderlands; and in 1777 Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, who accompanied Fathers Escalante and Domínguez on their epic incursion into what is now Utah, drew a magnificent map which, though not published until recent years, influenced many of the earlier published maps. By 1805 Juan Pedro Walker, an officer of the Mexican Army, had portrayed much of the West with fair accuracy, and in 1811 Baron von Humboldt's celebrated Map of New Spain threw much new light upon the West. It at once became the model for most European cartography dealing with this part of North America.

If the Spanish efforts to map the Southwest they came to know so well were disappointing, those of the French explorers who paddled westward in their canoes from the St. Lawrence valley were even more so. They crossed the "Illinois Country" and discovered the upper Mississippi and its southward course, but of the Missouri they knew little except that the muddy flood at its mouth revealed that it must be a long and mighty stream. Far to the south two young French explorers, Juchereau St. Denis and Bernard La Harpe, pushed westward into what is now Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma; in 1714 St. Denis even penetrated to the Spanish settlements on the lower Rio Grande. Still earlier, in 1703, that teller of tall tales, the Baron Louis de la Hontan (today recalled in the name of the vast prehistoric Lake Lahontan of the western Great Basin) related how he had gone up a great river (perhaps the Minnesota) and had learned from wandering natives of strange lands, rivers, lakes and peoples far to the West.[2] His story created quite a sensation in the drawing rooms of Paris,

[2] See A. H. Greenly, "Lahontan: an Essay and Bibliography," PAPERS, XLVIII (1954), 334-389.

but it was almost mid-century before an enterprising Frenchman, the Sieur de Verendrye, finally viewed the Upper Missouri near the Mandan Villages, where the great river's course changes from east to south. Verendrye's sons even reached the Black Hills, but no Frenchman of the period seems to have seen the Rockies, except a single small party which reached Santa Fe from Upper Louisiana early in the century, leaving no map. Maps of Verendrye's discoveries were few, but two quaint manuscript charts offer much food for thought in respect of this French explorer's achievements. It took Britons in the service of Spain (which succeeded to France in Louisiana) to explore the course of the Missouri from St. Louis to the Mandans, late in the seventeen-hundreds, and to view the areas now comprising western Nebraska and parts of the Dakotas.

The maps drawn by these men, James Mackay and John Evans (who was hunting for Welsh Indians), became of paramount importance when President Jefferson wished to advise his emissaries, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, about their massive assignment. In some respects Mackay's map of the Missouri to the Mandan Villages was superior to that of the two captains, though what lay higher along the great river's course would not appear cartographically until Lewis and Clark's return.

Meanwhile, the British to the north had not been idle. Peter Pond, a New Englander in the service of the North West Company, not only explored great areas of lake and river country northwest of Lake Superior, about the time of the Revolution, but drew maps of his efforts which had important consequences. It was Pond's theory, which he expounded on his maps, that a river flowing from Great Slave Lake debouched into the North Pacific Ocean, and also that it was but a relatively short distance from the mountains west of the Athabasca Lake country to the western seacoast. Pond's first notion was disproved by Alexander Mackenzie when he floated down what he called "Disappointment River"

(known today as the Mackenzie) and found himself on the shore of the Arctic rather than that of the Pacific Ocean. The second was disproved by the same explorer's tremendous 1793 *tour de force,* when he crossed the "Stoney Mountains" and pushed west, west, west, and finally to Pacific waters at Bella Coola inlet—the first European crossing of the North American Continent north of the Spanish settlements. Mackenzie's map created a sensation, for the continent was seen to be much wider than had been supposed by Pond or anyone else. In fact, when published in 1801, this Mackenzie map offered much food for thought, and must have sent cold chills down the spines of Lewis and Clark if they gazed at it while wintering at the Mandan Villages in 1804-1805. Maps sent back by them from that point show that when they arrived at the Mandans they still conceived their remaining trip to be a relatively short one, but Mackenzie had in fact already ended all reasonable question on that point.

Lewis and Clark's map was not published until 1814, though other maps purporting to show their explorations came out earlier. Meanwhile, in 1810 the account of Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike's expedition up the Arkansas, thence to the upper Rio Grande, and finally (as a prisoner) to Santa Fe and Chihuahua, appeared. Pike's maps were of the first order of excellence, and in 1823 the map drawn by Stephen H. Long, of the Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers, gave form to much of the plains country and the Front Range of the Rockies, with a memorable legend east of what is now Long's Peak: "The Great American Desert." School geographies carried those words for two generations.

The great English cartographer, Aaron Arrowsmith, first tried to portray the West of what is now the United States in 1795, on his large "Map of North America." He was an honest mapmaker, and on this map most of the area was left entirely blank. Much the same was true of his edition of 1802, but in 1814, almost coincidentally with the publication of the Lewis and Clark

map, Arrowsmith put out another edition with those explorers' data carefully and accurately shown. His maps were ably drawn and enjoyed wide circulation, and he took advantage of every development, not only the work of the two American captains but that of David Thompson, a Britisher who about 1814 drew remarkable maps of areas now embraced in the American Northwest. Thompson's maps long remained in manuscript, but have been reproduced in recent years to the great profit of historical map enthusiasts.

It was Pike who best exemplified the notion—once common—that somewhere in the Rockies, at a point called by him the "Great central reservoir of streams and fountains," one could find a spot whence in a single day one could reach on horseback a head stream of each of the great continental rivers: the Columbia, the Missouri (through its great tributary the Yellowstone), the Platte, the Arkansas, the Rio Grande and the Colorado. A generation was to pass before this fallacy was finally disproved, and meanwhile H. S. Tanner, one of the country's ablest commercial cartographers, on his great map of North America of 1822, displayed another geographic fantasy, that of great rivers flowing westward from the continent's crest to the Pacific, directly across the Great Basin and the massive barriers of the Sierra Nevada and the Coast Ranges. In 1816 John Melish had shown on his magnificent map of the United States a "Buenaventura River" flowing into a large lake, with a dotted line extending west labeled "Supposed course of a river between The Buenaventura and the Bay of San Francisco which will probably be the communication from the Arkansaw to the Pacific Ocean." Tanner, in 1822, showed several such westerly flowing rivers, the Mongos, the Timpanogos, the Buenaventura, the St. Felippe and the Martires.

Later cartographers followed suit, and even during the mid-forties John Charles Frémont sought the elusive Buenaventura, the non-existence of which the fur traders had long since proved. But to the commercial mapmakers of the eighteen-twenties and

thirties these streams seemed logical—almost too good to be true —since they helped so mightily to fill otherwise blank spaces. Few cartographers, however, were as candid as was Tanner, who placed a note in the Pacific Ocean stating that his information respecting "the interior of New California," which included what we know as the Great Basin, "was not of that authentic character which distinguished nearly all the other materials" brought together on his map. "It is therefore very doubtful," he added, "whether the representation afforded by it, of the courses and magnitude of those streams, should be relied upon as correct." It would have been refreshing had other mapmakers been equally frank.

During the eighteen-twenties an able young fur trader, Jedediah Strong Smith, explored the Far West. He hired out to General William H. Ashley in 1822 as a hunter on Ashley's celebrated Upper Missouri expedition, and not long after he became the General's partner, later forming a partnership with David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette, both well-known trappers and traders. It has long been known that Smith planned, on his return from Santa Fe (en route to which city in 1831 he was killed by Comanche Indians at the age of but thirty-two), to publish his journals, together with a map of his nine years of Western adventuring. That the map was actually drawn we now are certain, but although fragments of Smith's journals were discovered some twenty years ago, his map has eluded all investigators.

As early as 1833, and again in 1834, the well-known French cartographer A. H. Brué (or his widow) used Smith place names and later displayed lines purporting to reflect Smith routes on his maps of North America and of Mexico. Apparently, these data stemmed from published accounts rather than from maps. In 1836, however, the American savant Albert Gallatin published a "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America" on which appeared data probably derived from a Smith map, and in 1839 David H. Burr, Topographer to the House of Representatives,

included much information on his monumental "Map of the United States" based directly on the Far West as it must have appeared on a Smith original. In my study, *The Mapping of the American West; 1540-1857* (published in 1954 by the American Antiquarian Society), and in the recent volume written jointly by Dale L. Morgan and myself on the Maps of Jedediah Smith,[3] the story of these maps is told in detail. They also tell of another map, previously unknown, which displays Smith's efforts even more fully. Late in 1953, in the map collection of the American Geographical Society of New York, I uncovered almost by accident this map, and it has finally brought us as close to Smith's own map as we shall probably ever get, barring the discovery of his long-lost original.

This remarkable document has for its base Frémont's well-known 1845 map of his first and second Western expeditions, drawn with great skill by his able cartographer Charles Preuss. On this particular copy were many pen and pencil notations, placed there—as one name and later handwriting comparisons disclosed—by an early Oregon pioneer and scientist, George Gibbs, who probably presented the map to the Geographical Society, along with other materials, around 1870. Gibbs died in 1873, and for all the intervening years this map had lain unnoticed in the Society's archives. It is a memorable document, for on it Gibbs seems to have copied all—or at least most—of the data that Jedediah Smith had placed on his own comprehensive manuscript map. That Gibbs had that map before him as he labored is apparent, and the copy of the Frémont map on which these materials were added is a precious historical document. It has been reproduced, along with other maps displaying Smith influence, in the Morgan-Wheat study.

We can now assert with assurance that by 1831, when Smith prepared his map, he had come to cartographic grips with most

[3] Dale L. Morgan and C. I. Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and His Maps of The American West*. San Francisco, California Historical Society, 1954. 86 pp. (Special Publication, No. 26.)

of the major problems of Far Western physiography. He had correctly shown the Great Basin, with its lakes and in-flowing streams; he had displayed the Pacific coast and the Sierra Nevada with remarkable accuracy; he had faced up to the major geographic problem of the intricately entwined headwaters of the Platte, Yellowstone, Missouri, Green, Colorado and Snake rivers, and he had disentangled them successfully. As Dale Morgan, Smith's erudite biographer, writes, "Smith dealt with the central area, the point of merger for the Lewis and Clark, Long, Pike, de Miera and Garcés maps, where error had been most prevalent, and he straightened them all out." Not until Frémont's Report was published in 1845 did a map of equal clarity appear, and Frémont's map covered only a part of the vast area Smith had made his own. It is not too much to say that had Smith's Journals and his map been published, as he had planned, early in the eighteen-thirties, they would have afforded him a stature in the story of American exploration second only to that of Lewis and Clark, and would have advanced public knowledge of the American Far West by upwards of half a generation.

As it was, the cartographers were left to grope. Burr's splendid map—next to the newly found Frémont-Gibbs-Smith map the best of the period—seems to have been known to few, if any, of the commercial cartographers. At least they did not follow Burr's lead. Washington Irving rendered signal service in publishing Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville's maps of his explorations, but these were minor in comparison with Smith's. Commodore George Wilkes printed two important maps (of Oregon Territory and of Upper California, respectively) early in the forties, and even displayed on them certain Smith influence, but no overall grasp of the problem of Western geography was yet shown upon any published document. Perhaps the most important map of the first half of the forties was that which Josiah Gregg included in his *Commerce of the Prairies* in 1844, a map the importance of which was almost, but not quite, equalled by the *tour de force* of

Eugene Duflot de Mofras, a French official who had toured the Pacific coast and whose large map accompanied his Paris-published account of experiences and observation, which also appeared in 1844. About this time the Belgian Jesuit priest, Pierre-Jean de Smet, commenced his publications, many of his maps now constituting remarkable cartographic monuments of the early Pacific Northwest.

It was Frémont, however, who published the first map into which a man like Lieutenant Warren—a decade later—could really sink his teeth. Warren, in a *Memoir* about his 1857 map published in 1859, declared that the skill of Preuss (Frémont's cartographer) "in sketching topography in the field and representing it on the map has probably never been surpassed in this country," adding that this great 1845 map of Frémont's first and second expeditions "in most respects may serve as a model." It was on a copy of that map that George Gibbs placed the Jedediah Smith data—a service to American science that cannot be overpraised, now that his careful efforts have come to light.

Parenthetically, it is to be mentioned that in the single case in which Frémont and Preuss failed to follow their standard course of showing cartographically only the geography actually seen by them, the experiment resulted in disaster. On their 1848 Map of Upper California, otherwise a magnificent achievement, Preuss shows two east-west, wholly non-existent mountain ranges, calling them the limits of the Great Basin. It is now known from recently uncovered early Mormon documents that it was the southerly of these two spurious ranges of mountains that led the gold-seekers who discovered Death Valley late in 1849 to adopt their tragic "cut-off to the diggins," the attempt to follow which cost them so much suffering.

The onset of the Mexican War in 1846 was responsible for a number of important cartographic advances. In particular, New Mexico and the routes to it were mapped in detail by the Topographical Engineers, and when, in 1848, Lieutenant W. H.

Emory published his account of General Kearny's route from New Mexico to Southern California, his accompanying map for the first time tied in the southern portions of the West with the explorations farther north. Like Frémont's map in 1845, that of Emory was a cartographic milestone.

Before the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo which ended the Mexican War, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, and the great California Gold Rush swiftly followed. Maps by the dozens were produced by the commercial ateliers of the eastern seaboard. Most of these were poor in quality and some were downright misleading. A few, however, added to geographic knowledge. Among them T. H. Jefferson's remarkable four-section "Map of the Emigrant Road from Independence to St. Francisco" deserves particular mention. It was an achievement unfortunately too little known by the 49-ers, who might have profited greatly from its careful delineations of the trail and the waterholes, grass and campgrounds along it. (It also has been reproduced recently by the California Historical Society.)

During the early fifties a large number of commercial maps continued to appear, far too many even to be mentioned, much less discussed, in this paper. The Topographical Engineers were still at it along the southern reaches of the newly annexed western territories. Pacific railroad promoters sought by maps to forward their respective notions. Able mapmakers like Disturnell of New York, whose Map of Mexico had been attached to the official copies of the Treaty with Mexico, tried to keep up with the rapid advance of knowledge. It was not until 1853, however, that an overall onslaught was attempted.

In that year Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, sent out, at Congressional behest, a number of separate expeditions to seek the best route for the contemplated Pacific Railroad. Preliminary reports and maps were published in 1855, and commencing in 1857 a dozen thick quarto volumes, now commonly referred to as "The Pacific Railroad Reports" were published.

The map volume of this great but long largely unappreciated work was especially noteworthy. In it, based on all the others and on many of the important maps that had preceded these efforts, was a large map drawn by Lieutenant Gouverneur Kemble Warren covering the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. This great but even now too little-known map forms a fitting close for this brief outline of Western mapping. On it appear the facts as they were known a century ago, skillfully drawn together by a young man of already tested ability.

Warren performed many tasks for the Topographic Engineers during the entire decade of the fifties, and drew several other maps of basic value. However, it is on his general map of the West prepared for the Pacific Railroad Surveys that his enduring fame must rest. He went on to become a dashing young General in the Civil War, and died not many years later embittered by unfair treatment at the hands of U. S. Grant, the impropriety of which was proved by the decision of an Army General Court a few days after Warren died. But nothing which he later accomplished reached the heights of interest for us today achieved by his tremendous cartographic *tour de force* of 1857.

On Warren's impressive map we see the culmination of three centuries of effort to come to grips with reality in the vast and complex area known today as the American West. When Cabeza de Vaca wandered through one of its corners in the 1530's, no European knew anything of its nature or its secrets. Its exploration was a long process, often faltering, frequently painfully slow. But by the 1850's, when Warren was at work, the main facts had been gleaned. After his effort, only the filling in of detail remained for the cartographers. That process continues today, and will doubtless never be wholly completed, but with Warren the fundamental mapping of the West was accomplished. The story that his map reflected was a long and often a stormy one, but it is a story well worthy of the telling.

Small Renaissance: Southern California Style*

By Jacob Zeitlin

IF Stanley Vestal may misappropriate a quotation in the introduction to his *Booklover's Southwest*,[1] I may compound the felony. He says: "Civilized man cannot live without books." Thus, by paraphrase, he has robbed every chef who ever trotted out wooden artichokes and charnel-house duck of his traditional tribute. "Civilized man cannot live without books," he says, and I echo him even as the bicarbonate does the Camembert.

Dixon Wecter, in the third annual Founder's Day address at the William Andrews Clark Library on June 1, 1947, said: "Only a very few cities in the nation are so fortunate as the metropolitan area of Los Angeles in the concentrated richness of cultural resources. In comparison with these few other focal points, notably New York and Boston, ours is a new community of quick budding and rapid growth. We have leapt the span of development, the long cycle of expansion, with rather astonishing speed."

Here we have harvested the golden fruit of the Hesperides; liquid wealth has gushed from our earth; the Argonauts have rushed to our shores and borne away, not the Golden Fleece, but rather memories of the gold of our sun and of Medea's enchantments. Lest I disappoint you, I will not refrain from mentioning the astronomical increase in the value of southern California real estate. And, of course, we have our own peculiar Art, one which is inextricably entwined with the name of Hollywood. What be-

* Read at the meeting of the Society at The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, August 27, 1955.

[1] Walter S. Campbell ("Stanley Vestal," pseud.), *The Booklover's Southwest* (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma, 1955).

gan here as a lowly stepsister of the arts has now achieved a position of equality. For the motion picture is today a respectable medium of visual literature. We have all of the necessary preliminary components: wealth, commerce and the mingling streams of many cultures. Spain is here with our beginnings. Portolá, de Neve, Alvarado and Figueroa; they are commemorated in the names of our streets, and Spanish is a living language among several hundred thousand of our inhabitants. From Dana's Point to Frémont Place we remind ourselves of how very new North American culture is to our region; there are trees still standing in our plaza upon which were tacked Stockton's proclamation of 1846. Bixby's Slough and Whittier College, Hawthorne and Inglewood—these are New England names brought to us with flocks of sheep driven across half a continent. Our wives wear Chinese pyjamas; our children beg us to buy a fish kite to fly on Japanese boys' day. We adorn our houses with dwarf pines and Hiroshige's block prints, and divert our palates with sukiyaki or chopped water chestnuts topped by almond duck. Stratocruisers leave our airports hourly for Honolulu, Tokyo and Hong Kong, and we fly overnight by polar route to Stockholm and Copenhagen. Truly, here is a synthesis as diverse as Alexandria or Venice of the Doges.

After the cities are built, after the books are written, after the library shelves begin to swell with informative and useful literature, there comes another period of cultural development. It is a symptom of growing up, of the beginning of maturity. This may be called the first layer of patina, the signs of mellowing.

What specifically are these manifestations of our emergence from the frontier, our advancement beyond the fulfillment of mere necessity, our evolution beyond the stages of sustenance and plenitude? I would say they are (1) the establishment of two great libraries whose primary aim is the acquisition of rare books; (2) the existence of a thriving antiquarian book trade; (3) the organization of several clubs devoted to the discussion of book

and manuscript collecting and the encouragement of good printing; and (4) the emergence of a group of printers whose objective is the production of fine books in the tradition of the great printers of the past.

A sort of cultural Newton's Law has operated between us and our northern neighbor, San Francisco: "inversely as the square of the distance" has, I venture to suggest, as valid an application to our relationship as it has to the orbit of the planets. But there is a limit to the analogy, and I offer the theory that New York, Boston, London and Paris have had an even greater influence.

When Henry Huntington in 1928 opened his great library and art gallery in San Marino, he laid down the moorings to which all else has been anchored. The plan of research fellowships established by Max Farrand and elaborated under Dixon Wecter, Wallace Sterling, Robert Cleland, and now John Pomfret, has drawn a constant stream of distinguished scholars and bibliographers to our region. The exhibition program has set before us a succession of the finest books in this treasure house and has related them to the tradition of great ideas which they represent. More than any other single person Robert Schad has come to represent to our community the taste, tact, dignity and discrimination associated with the Huntington Library, and we are happy to have him restored to health and exercising his gentle wit among us. We are grateful guests here today.

The series of books which has issued under its imprint constitutes a very respectable and the only consistently high level program of publishing in this region. From *The Laws of Massachusetts* and Lily Campbell's edition of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, to William Hertrich's *Camellias in the Huntington Gardens* (1954), it is as eminent a list as may be boasted by any university press or learned society.

Of equal distinction, although narrower scope, is the William Andrews Clark Library established by its founder in 1926 and presented to the University of California in 1934. Its charming

French Renaissance building designed by Robert Farquhar houses not only the greatest Dryden collection in America, but also a most comprehensive assemblage of seventeenth-century drama and a notable Oscar Wilde collection. Under the direction of Lawrence Clark Powell it has continued an intensive acquisitions program. To my own peculiar taste and savour is the Robert Boyle collection now being formed as part of its remarkably inclusive coverage in the fields of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English science. The iron rails of Huntington and the copper ingots of Montana have mingled in the crucible and have been transmuted into our most precious metal.

While we cannot boast a Rosenbach or Gabriel Wells, a Maggs or Quaritch, the annals of our book trade do record two names of considerable bibliophilic luster. Alice Millard looked as if she had been created by the pencil of Edward Burne-Jones, and in the exquisite La Miniatura designed for her by Frank Lloyd Wright on the banks of the arroyo here in Pasadena, she formed and catered to the taste of a generation of the twenties and thirties. She brought here and displayed for the first time, collections of the works of William Morris and Cobden-Sanderson. Amidst Renaissance sculpture and Gothic tapestries, she exhibited the choicest illuminated manuscripts and rubricated incunables that could be garnered from Europe. Here many of us gazed for the first time upon William Blake's water colors and Rowlandson's drawings. From 1918 until her death in 1938 she exemplified in her person and her wares the most rarefied of tastes. Her rôle is unfilled, but her memorial remains in the many fine items that she placed in almost every important collection in this area. Of a quite different and more widely diffused character was the contribution of Ernest Dawson. From the founding in 1905 until this very day, his bookshop has funneled a torrent of books into our community. His stock has ranged from Kelmscott Chaucer to shilling calf-bound Ossian, imported by shiploads from England and the Continent, and it has attracted collectors and booklovers

great and small. A. Edward Newton and Hugh Walpole have rummaged in these shelves, and the great collections of Western Americana which he has dispersed have attracted men like Henry Wagner, Thomas Streeter and Everett Graff. Nothing that is printed or written upon stone, wood, skin or paper has not passed through this caravansery of letters, and we are all debtors to the energy and integrity of this man who brought more books into our region than any other single person. His sons Glen and Muir are the worthy inheritors and continuers of his tradition.

The antiquarian book trade in Los Angeles is today represented by more than thirty different shops. It includes not only general secondhand booksellers but specialists like Hunley in American literature, Valentine in American political history, Arthur H. Clark in Americana, Levinson in English literature, Schwartz in European literature and Orientalia, Gottlieb in music, Burch and Bassett in natural history, and our firm of Zeitlin and Ver Brugge in early science. Only New York surpasses Los Angeles in its number and variety of booksellers.

London has its Roxburghe Club, Boston its Club of Odd Volumes, New York its Grolier, Cleveland its Rowfant and Chicago its Caxton, while in our neighbor San Francisco there is another Roxburghe Club named after its senior in London. All alike could only come about through the existence in their cities of a considerable number of men endowed with the means and taste for the collecting of fine books and the publication of finely printed volumes. Their purpose is not so much to educate, as to enjoy in common the treasure of the book world. They do not endeavor to conquer the minds of other men or to communicate to them any particular art, craft, dogma or political philosophy. If to praise God and enjoy His works is the creed of Scotch Presbyterians, then to praise the Book and enjoy the fruits of the literary and typographic arts is the creed of the bibliophile.

Los Angeles has two such organizations: the eminently respectable and exclusive Zamorano Club, and the disorderly and

nebulous Rounce and Coffin. The former owes its founding to the mellow genius of the late Arthur M. Ellis, attorney, historian, book collector and amateur printer, whose greatest talent lay in impregnating the fertile minds of his fellows with the seeds of his ideas and nurturing the seedlings until they bore fruit. No one is more missed among us. It was he, together with A. G. Beaman, who first enlisted the services of Irving Way, pioneer Chicago publisher and bookseller transplanted to California, as the first Secretary of the Zamorano Club in 1927. Among its thirty-six founding members were Robert Cowan, bibliographer; W. W. Clary, attorney; John Treanor, businessman; Homer Earle, teacher and translator of Cervantes; Max Farrand, historian; Bruce McCallister, printer; Gordon Kaufman, architect, and Joseph Pijoan, art historian. The variety of callings represented is in itself indicative of the breadth of interests of the organization. The founding articles state:

> The love of books and the appreciation of the arts of bookmaking have always been manifestations of culture and important factors in the transmission of knowledge. Throughout the era of printing the standard established by masterpieces of early craftsmen has remained unsurpassed. Their ideals, cherished by book lovers, have inspired later craftsmen even during times of deterioration of printing. In recent years interest in fine books has increased and production and appreciation have been accordingly stimulated. One evidence of this renaissance is the increase in the number of individuals and groups who are consciously endeavoring to promote deeper appreciation for the treasure of the past and to encourage good work today.

It publishes a journal, *Hoja Volante*, which transmits bookish news and reprints addresses and essays from its guests and members. Occasional books have also been issued, including *The Zamorano Eighty*, a selection of California books deemed significant, and two volumes by Henry R. Wagner, our honored member today.

The Rounce and Coffin Club and its less decorous ways had its history briefly chronicled in 1941 by Lawrence Clark Powell in a

manner that passes for witty, under the title of *Ten Years (almost) of Rounce & Coffinism;* and by myself in a stillborn attempt at persiflage in 1951 under the title of *Twenty Disorderly Years.* Formed also under the benign influence of Arthur Ellis, its initial meeting in 1931 was held at a bookshop. Grant Dahlstrom, Ward Ritchie and Gregg Anderson gathered with me in what Powell calls an atmosphere of "bibulous obfuscation," and we later added Saul Marks and Paul Landacre to our list of founders. Under the veneer of genial horseplay and jovial disorder, and with a sketchy formality of organization more often observed in the breach than otherwise, it has adequately, but none too zealously, fulfilled the chief purpose of its founders. Irregular meetings have been held, distinguished exponents of the typographic arts have been entertained (and sometimes deflated), and each year the club has sponsored the Western Books Exhibition, governed by the standards laid down by Gregg Anderson in its first call to printers. Fourteen exhibitions of outstanding western books have been assembled and circulated among libraries and universities throughout the country. These have been accompanied by a series of catalogues which are a record of the development of a group of fine printers whose ideals have been guided by standards of the highest quality, untinged by pressures of commercialism. The very informal and unpretentious nature of this organization, its disavowal of any noble intent is in itself a symptom of the free flowering which should characterize the small renaissance I am discussing.

Venice had its Ratdolt, its Jenson, and its Aldus. Their traditions and models have influenced our printers, as have also the more recent examples of Cobden-Sanderson, William Morris, Francis Meynell, John Henry Nash and the Grabhorn brothers. Bruce McCallister was affectionately regarded as their first exemplar in Southern California. In the midst of a prosperous and busy printing industry, he added an element derived from his collection of examples from the great presses: Jenson's *Pliny,* the

Gutenberg Bible page, the Kelmscott *Chaucer*, Baskerville's Bible, and John Henry Nash's *Dante*. He brought Grant Dahlstrom here from Porter Garnett's Laboratory Press, and placed him in supervision of the typographic design of every piece produced in the plant of Young and McCallister. One of the first products of that collaboration was *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies*, by Ludwig Salvator, Archduke of Austria, published in 1929. I submit that this book is the first volume in Southern California which reflects the standards of fine printing under conditions of commercial production. Grant Dahlstrom has since established his own plant in Pasadena, and there through the years he has issued books and other printed matter which reflect his erudition, his good taste and sometimes even his elfin wit. He is the unofficial dean of fine printing among us.

Again we must recall the name of Arthur Ellis. It was in 1929 that he, having finally convinced the Caslon Company of his fitness to be its custodian, brought into our midst an Albion hand press. His intention was to place it at the disposal of Gregg Anderson, then a student at Pomona College. Anderson's early productions of booklets and leaflets, under the imprint of the Grey Bow Press, while still a page at the Huntington Library, were gems of imaginative interpretation. They had impressed Ellis with the possibilities of his talents which were later brought to fruition at the Grabhorn Press and under the inspiration of Updike, and finally brought him back among us to form the partnership of Anderson and Ritchie. He was the purest spirit, the most knowing and discriminating among all of the printers of our period, and his untimely end on the beach of Normandy has deprived us greatly. Anderson refused to accept the responsibility of the press, and it fell upon Ellis and Dahlstrom to assemble it and master the mystery of hand printing. The influence of this hand press has far exceeded the uses to which it has been put in its migrations from one owner to another since its arrival. It has been a challenge to the craftsmanship of almost every fine print-

er among us and a symbol of the tradition which they have inherited.

Besides Dahlstrom there have grown up to maturity and wide recognition Ward Ritchie, Saul Marks and William Cheney.

It was the chance purchase of the *Journals* of Cobden-Sanderson from a bargain sale table which turned Ward Ritchie away from the law and into the ambition of becoming a printer. A *wanderjahr* abroad and an apprenticeship under Schmied in Paris added a certain continental touch and color to his style. From modest beginning in a barn, his shop has grown into a large plant occupying several buildings. His association and partnership with Gregg Anderson has been a very strong and lasting influence, and the long list of books produced under their imprint have all borne the stamp of an informed and worldly taste. His personality and social talents have opened many doors to the preachments of the book beautiful, serving both to the profit of his enterprise and the enrichment of our public taste. Most notable among his productions are the series of Catalogues of the library of Estelle Doheny, in themselves significant of our approach to cultural maturity.

It is a far leap from the dark street of the Polish town where Saul Marks was born to the palm-lined avenues of California. It is even a farther leap from the commercial composing room, where he began his printing career, to the small home shop where he and his wife Lillian design, set into type and print the exquisite productions which bear the colophon of the Plantin Press. Everything they produce, from bank advertisements to their latest book for the Limited Editions Club, bears evidence of a most exacting craftsmanship and the most uncompromising self-criticism. Considerations of time and cost are left outside the door when one enters the area of their dedication. Their distinction as printers is exceeded only by their modesty, and I therefore feel a special necessity to say that nowhere in the world is the unflawed quality of their work surpassed. The catalogue of the James R. Page Collection of the English *Book of Common Prayer* is their lat-

est production, and it too bears witness to the fulfillment of the Zamorano Club declaration that book collecting and fine printing should join hands.

To capture the elusive quality of William Cheney who writes and prints the charming series of small books that issue from the Auk Press, would be as difficult as it would to capture that shy Welshman himself and bring him into this hall. Inspired by the explosive erudition and Gallic allusiveness in typography of the late Thomas Perry Stricker, Cheney has uttered a series of works with such titles as *Arguments in Favor of Inconciseness, Letter to a Lexicographer, Arkwright's Counterblast, A Pamphlet on Pig Latin,* and even a miniature entitled *I Hate This Book.* They might be called examples of the elegant spoof. Their mock seriousness, parody of erudition, and will-of-the-wisp-laughter-at-twilight are just the proper antidote for the tendency toward pompousness which often affects a rapid cultural growth. Nothing is more needed in our midst than this light pinprick which reminds us that the worst pitfall is to take ourselves and our creations too seriously. The Rounce and Coffin Club has among its dormant, but not dead, projects a volume of Cheney's letters to be entitled *Typestickers of the Los Angeles Area.*

So much for a few of our printers, except to tell you that in a recent visit with Will Dwiggins I was told that to his knowledge there is more experimental printing, more ephemera of small presses produced in Southern California than in all the rest of the United States.

If my time was not already run over I would dwell in detail upon the many private collections of books and prints among us. I can only say that their numbers are great and their specialties are legion. Fine printing, Western Americana, early medicine, Leonardo da Vinci, modern poetry, incunabula, botanical books, Kate Greenaway and the other illustrators—name it and we can produce a collection which is comparable to the best. A chapter of a Manuscript Society, shepherded by Justin Turner, flourishes

and holds frequent meetings. A Civil War Round Table gathers monthly to storm Chickamauga or debate the merits of Thaddeus Stevens. The Centennial of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* has brought out several exhibitions of his works and an almost exhausting round of memorial meetings.

I have recited before you the evidence of our flourishing (1) libraries; (2) book clubs; (3) printers; and (4) collectors. I would be too much of a special pleader if I did not point to the fact that despite our wealth of productive authors, we have yet not achieved a respectable publishing house, and that notwithstanding our great assemblage of scholars and scientists, none of them can find a respectable periodical here for the publishing of any important contribution. Our highest attempt at art is best exemplified by insurance bas-reliefs. We have no great museum, and shall not until we dissolve the present shotgun marriage between art, science and history which binds our county institution.

Whether this small renaissance is truly a prelude to cultural greatness, I cannot predict. I can only pray that there may be found among us men great enough to harvest the fruits of our quick flowering, men (equal to the challenge uttered in a recent statement of the Association of American University Presses) who will utilize this plenitude "for faith in the ultimate usefulness of all knowledge; and for courage in insisting on their right to give knowledge its free opportunity to prove its usefulness."

Between the mere indulgence of vanity, the accumulation of treasures as a child hoards bright colored stones and sea shells, the display of affluence in order that others might be made humble or envious, and the proper use of such riches, there is a wide gulf. If our libraries, our book clubs, our printers and our collectors can have the vision properly to use what the vagaries of geography and history have given us towards the greater glory of the free human mind, then we may hope for a renaissance, albeit small and Southern California-style. If they do not, then all that I have boasted shall be as the sand-covered ruin of Shelley's *Ozymandias*.

The Well-Tempered Bibliographer*

By Neal Harlow

BIBLIOGRAPHY, like documentation and communication, its next-of-kin in modern times, is a general and comprehensive term. It is a coat of many colors, covering a variety of shapes and garbs. It shelters amateurs and professionals, scholars and mechanics, dilettantes and the gainfully employed. Within its folds will be found textual critics, indexers, and compilers; historians, scientists, and research men; punch card operators, cataloguers, reference librarians, and administrators. Bibliography is an orderly concept; how is it that so many varied interests and activities can coexist within it, usefully if not altogether peacefully?

Bibliography may be among the oldest professions, for there have been librarians, archivists, and bibliographers since there have been written records. But a Chaldean astronomer-bibliographer brought down to the present age would be no more puzzled by the 200-inch Palomar telescope than by the 1950 UNESCO/Library of Congress *Bibliographical Survey*. Bibliography is an old and persistent discipline which has endured by constant adaptation.

In most of its existing forms bibliography is a secondary and contributing force, not a principal one, supporting and encouraging creative activity but not producing it. To sustain the sciences, humanities, and technology, it must serve many masters, but it need not do so aimlessly. It is venerable and diverse and must be seen whole to be understood.

There have been much disagreement and dissension in recent

* Read at the meeting of the Society at The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, August 27, 1955.

years over the function of bibliography, and several schools, factions, and professions have settled down possessively within its borders. There are definitions which would leave out most of the work done by the members of this Society, and there is a point of view (that of the "documentalist") from which bibliography is seen as one aspect of a many-sided discipline responsible for the development and communication of all knowledge.

Even the common or garden variety of bibliography as defined by our standard dictionaries shows signs of split personality: on one side it is seen as a list of works by author or subject, and as the "description and history of books" on the other. With this schizoid inclination, conflicting interpretations are bound to exist, and as a specific concept bibliography is surprisingly unstable.

Bibliography in the age of printing began as enumeration—and for want of a more certain place from which to begin a hasty review, we put a foot down here.[1] In its pristine state, bibliography was a notice from printer to reader. These first commercial announcements and trade catalogues of the 15th- and 16th-century German publishers and dealers were nothing more than lists of books in print, but their use spread into a coöperative enterprise representing the whole German book trade.[2] Modern enumerative bibliography began its course with Johann Tritheim's *Liber de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, printed in 1494, listing seven thousand titles by nearly a thousand writers, arranged in the now familiar chronological order, with alphabetical author index.[3] National bibliography existed in Germany, England, France, Italy, and Holland before the end of the 16th century, and the

[1] Theodore Besterman points out that as early as the second century Galen compiled two bibliographies of his own five hundred-odd works, arranged under appropriate headings, such as commentaries, anatomical works, moral philosophy, grammar, etc., which well deserve to be included in a full history of bibliography, in his *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography* (Oxford, 1935), 2-3. Other lists which appeared before the development of printing are described, pp. 3-6.

[2] Georg Schneider, *Theory and History of Bibliography*. Translated by Ralph Robert Shaw (New York, 1934), 272. Besterman, *op. cit.*, 20.

[3] Theodore Besterman, *op. cit.*, 6-9.

first successful periodical booklist, the English *Term Catalogue*, began to appear in 1668. Conrad Gesner may not have been the first to be fascinated by a vision of the world enclosed by a bibliographic fence, but he made the earliest (and probably the most) successful attempt at universal bibliography, in the *Bibliotheca Universalis*, of 1545.[4] World bibliography is today even more in the fantasy stage than when it was conceived, but it need no longer rest on the conscience of the individual compiler.

In bibliography, enumeration is essentially descriptive, because its purpose is identification. Gesner, following classical and mediaeval models, provided biographical notes and added digests and extracts of contents. Forty years later, Andrew Maunsel developed, in his *Catalogue of English Printed Books* (1595), a real technique of description, supplying comparable data and adequate fullness for each entry.[5] The first subject divisions followed those of the mediaeval universities—theology, philosophy, and medicine—and the early German Seasonal Fair Catalogues adopted this handy plan.[6] Gesner created out of the newly developing knowledge a none too rational classification system of twenty-one categories, and (perhaps in repentance or despair) added author and subject indexes, the latter made up of nearly 25,000 sub-headings.[7] Before the turn of the 16th century, universal, national, regional, and personal bibliographies had appeared in numbers, with true subject lists in such diverse fields as theology, medicine, philology, botany, and zoology. With some exceptions, fullness and accuracy were not highly regarded, but the chief types of bibliography which would be familiar for three hundred years had been explored. The printing revolution, first step toward the dictatorship of the mass media, began to require

[4] J. Christian Bay, "Conrad Gesner (1516-1565), the Father of Bibliography," PAPERS *of the Bibliographical Society of America*, X (1916), 53-86. Actually only the general and medical sections were published.

[5] Theodore Besterman, *op. cit.*, 27-29.

[6] Georg Schneider, *op. cit.*, 275.

[7] Theodore Besterman, *op. cit.*, 17.

that bibliographies become more numerous, more frequent, and more specialized.

W. W. Greg, one of the chief partisans of "historical" or "critical" bibliography (as contrasted with enumerative) wrote quite fairly in 1945 that "Before books can be studied they must be known to exist and survive, and it is therefore evident that one of the first tasks of bibliography is enumeration. Enumeration involves description, and description involves intensive study of the books described." [8] Critical bibliography, the historical and comparative study of books, may therefore be observed as a logical as well as an historical development from earlier forms. From the bare trade lists more meaty bibliographic types developed, as the descriptive cataloguer became the student of the book and its content.

An important new scholarly influence was that of the bibliophile, of whom the first was Guillaume-François Debure, whose *Bibliographie instructive, ou traité de la connaissance des livres rares et singuliers* was published between 1763 and 1768. In his seven volumes he was prolix and sometimes inaccurate, but the work was a serious and sympathetic study of books as objects of human interest, and with it bibliography took a new semantic and scholarly turn.[9]

The bibliographic form which has been most often elevated by its followers to the highest rank did not climb up out of the bibliographic deep until the latter end of the 19th century. Then, Henry Bradshaw, Librarian of Cambridge, and his industrious colleagues, began to investigate the early history of printing in order to identify and describe the great accumulation of incunabula and other valuable books in their collections. In their enviable positions as scholars and bibliographers, they came immediately to grips with the unstandardized printing practices of the early

[8] W. W. Greg, "Bibliography—a Retrospect," in *The Bibliographical Society, 1892-1942, Studies in Retrospect* (London, 1945), 25.

[9] F.-C. Lonchamp, *Manuel du Bibliophile Français, 1470-1920* (Paris, 1927), I, 505. J. C. Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire* (Paris, 1860-1865), II, 553-554.

century of the craft and the almost infinite number of irregularities which crept into the product. Hand-printed, often one sheet at a time, sometimes on several presses simultaneously, then edited, revised, press-corrected, and reprinted, or the edition enlarged while in process, then hand-gathered and bound, the first generation of printed books offered an exciting and productive adventure for scholar and collector. After the first eager assault upon early typography and press work began to quiet down, the interest of bibliographers was deployed along the whole line of book production, investigating every phase of the life history of the book and the relations of one book with another.

From a distance it may now seem that bibliographers wandered unwittingly into the 16th century and stumbled upon Shakespeare like a gold nugget at their feet. Actually no great shift of emphasis was required to transfer interest from the printer's book to the author's text. One object of analytical description is to identify a particular copy of a book. Another is to discover any textual variations between states and editions; and this study of the "transmission of texts" proved to be a new Northwest Passage to textual criticism.

The importance of typographical and related evidence to the study of Elizabethan literature was pointed out by R. B. McKerrow in 1896 when he suggested that until a thorough investigation of all the technical details was made, textual emendation "must remain in much the same state as medicine was before dissection was practiced."[10] So startling were the results of these studies when they were finally inaugurated by A. W. Pollard that they profoundly altered editorial practice. Critical bibliography became the "historical material of criticism," indeed it has been called synonymous with textual criticism.[11]

After these triumphs in the Elizabethan period, some scholars

[10] F. P. Wilson, "Shakespeare and the 'New Bibliography,' " in *The Bibliographical Society, 1892-1942* (London, 1945), 77.

[11] W. W. Greg, "Bibliography—An Apologia," *The Library*, 4 ser., XIII (1932), 130.

and bibliographers moved downstream with time, past 1640, through the Restoration and Dryden, on to Pope, and into the 18th century. As they approached the present, the mechanization of printing and the fewer consequent uncertainties in the printed texts brought ever decreasing results from minutely detailed description. For bibliographers who pursued their interests into the 19th century, attention necessarily spread into the social climate of printing, the book trade, and reading, mixed with the lives of the authors and their subject matter, "producing, as it were, a garment of biography with the texture of bibliography."[12] Books came to be treated more like human expressions than "like chairs, tables, and houses," and their place in the history of human thought and progress was recognized.[13]

During the 19th and 20th centuries, methods of mass production have drastically affected bibliography, but the development of science itself, from which technological improvements have fallen like spores, has had an even more determining influence. As the methods and interests of science invaded virtually all areas of human thought, the boundaries of the traditional subject disciplines began to fade. And not science only, but the humanities and social sciences overran each other's preserves as better communication among them took place.

As the individual investigator's approach tended to narrow and specialize, published monographs and summary articles came to be more numerous. And with the breaking up of the old time subject divisions into many new special interests, with deep crisscrossing currents, there was a rise in the variety and quantity of scholarly writing. Hundreds of journals soon sprang up in the freshly exposed regions to record the new findings. Particularly in the sciences an unprecedented urgency developed to make the

[12] Michael Sadleir, "The Development During the Last Fifty Years of Bibliographical Study of Books of the XIXth Century," in *The Bibliographical Society, 1892-1942* (London, 1945), 147.

[13] L. C. Wroth, "Early Americana," in C. F. Bühler, J. G. McManaway, L. C. Wroth, *Standards of Bibliographical Description* (Philadelphia, 1949), 106.

new discoveries known, and this has necessitated both rapidity in publication and more certainty in the means to bring the information to the attention of those most affected. A largely uncoördinated publication program has grown up which depends more and more upon enumerative bibliography for its use.

Bibliography in this aspect has reached a critical point insofar as society is concerned. Something like half a million scientific papers are being published every year, which means that while one is being read, about fifty are being overlooked, with other hundreds coming out between dark and dawn. To whom are these addressed? Publication is not an end in itself and will not spontaneously produce other findings.

Handicraft methods by which information has been handled in the past are still sometimes satisfactory but are ofttimes inadequate to provide information in needed amounts at sufficient speed. Mechanical and electronic methods are being explored, and the technical problems relating to them are being rather successfully solved. These machines, however, will not likely be rated in "brain-power," for they are substitutes for brains only when engaged in mass operations which can be repeated many times rapidly. Searching does not itself require brain power, but analysis does, and the evaluations and decisions necessary to the process still require the unique facilities of the human brain.[14]

The word "bibliography" as used today at international congresses and "documentation" centers continues to have a dual meaning. "Enumerative" bibliography looks toward universal listing by author and subject both for scholars and for popular need—and this Ralph Shaw characterizes as the "unfinished bibliographical business of the sixteenth century." "Analytical" bibliography, as practiced by the Davy Crocketts of this new frontier, emphasizes organizing the knowledge contained in the literature rather than the books upon the shelves. The hope is to do routine-

[14] R. P. Bristol, "Can Analysis of Information be Mechanized?" *College and Research Libraries*, XIII (1952), 131-135.

ly and mechanically what has long been a large part of so-called research, surveying the literature and browsing through the bookstacks, methods which for the sciences at least will no longer serve.[15]

There is a gentleman of this school who maintains that bibliography in modern times has assumed the social importance of a public utility and should therefore be guided by such public controls as are applied to common carriers, highways, electric power, and communication.[16] General bibliography, he declares, is the main intellectual thoroughfare for the transmission of thought and is thus of very common concern. Its ultimate aim is to provide a complete listing of all recorded knowledge, first on a national basis, and then cumulatively for the whole world. Such listing is said to be the minimum bibliographic responsibility of a modern national government, for upon this rock all other forms stand.

Not only scientists and technologists, but entrenched politicians are today making their influence upon bibliography felt. Partisan minds have long been standard human equipment, and even the first scholarly bibliographers of the 18th century church served under an authoritarian compulsion to "glorify the Lord in all their works." There are more modern instances.

Marxian bibliography has both political and scholarly commissars. According to a recent description of bibliographical practices in Eastern Germany,[17] bibliographers are required to give "a genuinely partisan characterization" of content. "Selective bibliography, based upon a rigorously slanted evaluation of each title, represents an important medium for the orientation of the

[15] R. R. Shaw, "Machines and the Bibliographical Problems of the Twentieth Century," in L. N. Ridenour, *Bibliography in an Age of Science* (Urbana, 1951), 38. Katharine O. Murra, "UNESCO-Library of Congress Bibliographical Survey: First Interim Report of the Library of Congress Bibliographical Planning Group, June 1949." *College and Research Libraries*, X (1949), 411.

[16] J. H. Shera, "Bibliographical Management." *American Documentation*, II (1951), 47-54.

[17] H. J. Krould, "Librarianship in Eastern Germany." *L. C. Information Bulletin*, April 18, 1955, 7-9.

reader and the propagation of peace and progress . . . ." There are still people, it holds, "who believe that in some fields they should cover the literature comprehensively," but while this continues to be the case, "bibliography will take a neutral position" and will not "serve as a source of enlightenment to the working masses." The objectives of this partisan bibliography are "(1) a clear understanding of the interests and problems of those whom the bibliography serve, and (2) the proper selection necessary for satisfying these interests." Thus the "partiality of selective bibliography" can be achieved.

Bibliography is truly a coat of many colors, tattered and not too shapely from fitting a multitude of forms, but serviceable as never before. Semantically it has been much tailored and altered, patched, enlarged, and marked for a more modern cut. What has often been in doubt, however, particularly in the present century, is the true identity of the wearer. Which of the jealous bibliographic brothers is Joseph?

Whether "bibliography" (the word) first meant "the writing and transcription of books" or "writing about books" is no longer of real significance, though still of engaging interest. And whether the first bibliographer was a Chaldean astrologer, a Greek textual critic, a German publisher, or a French bibliophile argues little about its present state. Bibliography is all that it has become. Bernard Shaw objected, it is said, to making any distinction between fine art and applied art, insisting that there is only fine art and bad art, applied art and misapplied art; so bibliography is adequate or inadequate for its intended use.

Definitions of bibliography are inclined to be more numerous than explicit. A. W. Pollard said that the business of the bibliographer "is primarily and essentially . . . the enumeration of books. His is the lowly task of finding out what books exist."[18] One of his best known followers, W. W. Greg, was of a contrary mind. Since

[18] Stephen Gaselee, "The Aims of Bibliography." *The Library*, 4th ser., XIII (1932), 246-247.

books are, he said, "the material means by which literature is transmitted . . . bibliography, the study of books, is essentially the science of the transmission of literary documents." "It is in no way particularly or primarily concerned with the enumeration or description of books" and it "has nothing to do with subject matter . . ." To have it "charged with the compilation of 'bibliographies' . . . is mere prostitution."[19]

Looked at more closely, the difference between these two views is not extreme, for Pollard continues: "The ideal toward which all bibliographical work should be directed is the provision in an accessible form of a standard description of a perfect copy of every book of literary, historical, or typographical interest as it first issued from the press, and of all the variant issues and editions."[20] Enumeration, then, could lead up to the point of literary comparison but not rend the veil. Greg would allow the critical analysis of the text but no truck with the literary sense. Others would go even beyond the book, shifting "from elaboration in the description of the physical form" to the "consideration of its meaning in relation to its time and subject."[21]

We cannot walk many more times around this noble elephant, but there is a side which puts service to science and scholarship above loyalty to any bibliographical ideal. Bibliography as a key to information, and part of the cycle of documentary production and use, has had many interpreters,[22] but at its most comprehensive, it would permit the individual inquirer to select particular records from all of those relating to his subject, of whatever lan-

[19] W. W. Greg, "Bibliography—An Apologia," *op. cit.*, 114-115. "The Present Position of Bibliography," *ibid.*, XII (1930), 241-262. "What is Bibliography?" Bibliographical Society, *Transactions*, XII (1914), 39-53.

[20] A. W. Pollard, "Bibliography and Bibliology." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (1910), III, 909.

[21] L. C. Wroth, "Early Americana," *op. cit.*, 112.

[22] Katharine O. Murra, *op. cit.*, 411-414. V. W. Clapp, "The Role of Bibliographic Organization in Contemporary Civilization," in J. H. Shera and Margaret E. Egan, *Bibliographic Organization* (Chicago, 1951), 3-22. R. R. Shaw, "Machines and the Bibliographical Problems of the Twentieth Century," *op. cit.*, 38.

guage, nationality, or point of view. It would characterize and organize them in order to narrow down the search, call attention to the newest contributions, and locate copies—all this with a minimum of difficulty and delay.[23]

The Spanish language reflects the extraordinary degree to which its users have taken an interest in the horse, providing a wonderful range of names to distinguish breeds and markings. José might much prefer a palomino to a pinto, but while he could claim for his choice finer qualifications or superior beauty, he could hardly maintain that another was any less *horse*. Our bibliographic tolerance ought to be as broad as our nomenclature and our terminology as specific as it is rich.

If we take the following words of W. W. Greg and read into them a meaning he never intended, that our bibliographic relationships with books "is of importance just in so far as it helps us to read their record and so enables them to fulfil their function,"[24] we can embrace all of the genuine and useful forms of bibliographic expression. "We all want the same thing," said Pollard, "the question at issue is . . . whether we want them *as bibliographers*, or in some other capacity. My own preference," he said, "is for the big umbrella."[25]

One of the musical and mathematical problems in the development of keyboard instruments was to adjust the pitch of the various keyed intervals to some "suitable temperament" so as to adapt them to the purposes of practical harmony. Bach's masterful series of preludes and fugues, known as "The Well-Tempered Clavichord," celebrate a happy solution to this problem of esthetics and practice. The well-tempered bibliographer may perform with facility only in restricted octaves. He need not ride aimlessly up and down the scale like what Bach called "harpsichord horsemen." But he should be more comfortable in his world

[23] V. W. Clapp, *op. cit.*, 16-17.

[24] W. W. Greg, "Bibliography—an Apologia," *op. cit.*, 115.

[25] Stephen Gaselee, "The Aims of Bibliography," *op. cit.*, 258.

of bibliographic surroundings than the sailor in San Francisco who expressed his own sorry limitations in the loud lament that "this here town ain't Chi-caw-go."

And to turn from Bach to Wagner—it should be noted that during his half-century of bibliographic practice, Henry R. Wagner has been a master in creating a suitable temperament for bibliography, and that his works have altogether been a happy blending of bibliographic need and practice.

The Peralta Grant: A Lost Arizona Story*

By Donald M. Powell

THE story of the Peralta Grant opens with ringing words: "The King, Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Spain and President of my Royal Audencia sitting in the city of Mexico . . . order the Commander-in-chief, in behalf of Don Miguel de Peralta de la Cordoba, Captain of Dragoons . . . in consideration of and by way of recompense for great and valuable services, also for his manner of bringing to a speedy and successful termination important battles in the service of the King; I, the King of Spain, by this mandate and public decree, in accordance with the customs of the crown, do recommend to his Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain to grant and concede, in my name, to Don Miguel de Peralta de la Cordoba . . . three hundred square leagues, or nineteen thousand, two hundred million square varas of land . . . situated in the northern portion of the Viceroyalty of New Spain . . . in such shape as not to interfere with grants previously made; they shall, however, include all lands, waters and streams, all minerals and all other belongings. And I declare the honorable title of Don Miguel de Peralta de la Cordoba to be Baron of the Colorados, declaring him, at the same time to be a Grandee of Spain. Thus he provided, ordered and signed. Done at Madrid on the twentieth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight."

The man who penned these stately phrases had them bound as

* Read at the meeting of the Society at The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, August 27, 1955.

part of a slim black leather volume now in the possession of the University of Arizona Library. Pale green letters on the cover read: *Exhibits "AAA" and "BBB" Royal Patent; also Wills, Codicils, and Certified Copy of Possession Given to Don Miguel de Peralta de la Cordoba, Baron of the Colorados of Baronial Estate in Arizona.* Included are photographs of 18th-century Spanish documents showing the heavy royal seal attached, followed by transcripts of royal decrees, reports of the inquisition and other official papers, translations of these into English, and a rough map of the grant. Laid in are a later report of a preliminary examination of the boundaries by R. C. Powers, and an application for formal survey by the United States government. All bear the ribbons and scarlet embossed seal of the Surveyor General for Arizona, with endorsement by Surveyor John Hise to the effect that the documents were filed in his office in Tucson in 1887.

This now battered treasure which once passed through the hands of the claimant, James Addison Reavis, started my search for the scattered sources of the story of the Peralta Grant and the Red Baron, the Knight of the Colorados. The sources are nowhere listed in bibliographies and indexes. They are nowhere gathered in one collection. Hence my sub-title of "A Lost Arizona Story."

The guide through this tangle of fantastic events is Will M. Tipton, graphologist, investigator and government witness at the final trial. Soon after its close he wrote down without adornment the progress of the whole drama from its opening in Saint Louis to its climax in Santa Fe. His account, titled "Prince of Impostors," was published in 1897 in Volume 8 of Charles Fletcher Lummis' west coast magazine *Land of Sunshine.*

James Addison Reavis—born in Henry County, Missouri, in 1842, one time soldier in the Confederate army, adventurer into Brazil, street-car conductor, haberdasher, and later real estate dealer in Saint Louis—first appeared on the Arizona scene at Prescott in the late 1870's. There from a gunny-sack stored in

the attic of a frontier cabin he surreptitiously obtained possession of certain papers belonging to his deceased friend, George M. Willing. Exactly what was in the papers we probably shall never know; but they must have contained the germ of the Peralta Land Grant. In 1883 in the office of the Surveyor General for Arizona in Tucson, Reavis filed formal claim to an empire stretching 150 miles east and west and 50 miles north and south, from west of the city of Phoenix to the outskirts of Silver City, New Mexico; an empire embracing the agriculturally rich Salt River Valley with nearly 100,000 acres then under cultivation, the towns of Casa Grande, Florence, and Globe, the booming silver camp near the present Superior, and the magnificent copper deposits of Globe-Miami and Clifton-Morenci. There were twelve million acres in all of fertile valley, running streams, mines and forests.

The chronological history of official acts and the chain of title for this first claim are contained in the thirty page pamphlet, *"El Caudal de Hidalgo" (Peralta Grant) . . . Brief and Argument of Petitioner,* published in San Francisco by A. L. Bancroft in 1884. Copies of this earliest printed publication dealing with the grant are in the Bancroft Library and the Denver Public Library. As outlined therein, title rested on a complex series of deeds, documents, and conveyances, beginning with the grant absolute from Ferdinand VI to Miguel Peralta in 1748 and confirmed in 1778 by Charles III. The grant was deeded in 1864 by Jesús Miguel, son of the original grantee, to George M. Willing. It was then conveyed to Reavis by a deed from Florin Massol by virtue of a power of attorney given him by Willing in exchange for heavy indebtedness, and by another deed in 1882 from Mary Ann Willing, widow of George, to Reavis for a consideration of $30,000.

The news threw central Arizona into an uproar. Farmers and ranchers, mine owners, townspeople saw titles to their lands clouded and uncertain; the very water supply, life itself in the Southwest, threatened; the whole rapidly developing area open

to exploitation by a single man. As they awoke to the danger, citizens of Phoenix, Florence, and other towns organized meetings of angry protest. Many like Tom Weedin, battling editor of the Florence *Enterprise*, cried aloud that the claim was a bold fraud, but others were less sure and hastened to make settlement with the claimant, among them the Southern Pacific Railroad, which paid Reavis $50,000 for its right-of-way across the southwestern corner of the grant.

The Surveyor General, moving slowly and hampered by overwork and lack of funds for proper investigation, showed no inclination to make immediate report on the claim to lay before the Congress. Meanwhile Reavis was not idle. In addition to selling quit-claim deeds he was pursuing a new line of his own investigations which during the next four years took him to Mexico, Washington, and, eventually, to Spain.

In 1887, while the original claim was still pending, James Addison Peralta-Reavis, as he began to call himself, returned to Arizona and filed a wholly different claim, this time on behalf of himself and the Doña Sophia Loreta Micaela Maso-Reavis y Peralta, his wife. To inquirers he told a romantic story of a rail journey to Sacramento during which he had become so attracted by a handsome girl in the car that he struck up acquaintance with her. She revealed to him that she believed herself heiress to immense properties in Arizona, but that her parents had died when she was an infant leaving her no proof of inheritance. The excited Reavis recognized in the girl the long lost, surviving child of the Peraltas, and engaged himself to act as her agent and champion. They were married in 1882, but the fact was not acknowledged until he had discovered proof of his wife's identity in the archives in Spain in 1886.

Supporting documents for the second claim are contained in a pamphlet with the cover title *Muniments of Title of the Barony of Arizona and Translation into English by R. C. Hopkins*, printed by the Bancroft Company in 1893. A copy survives in the Bancroft

Library. It is a much more elaborate effort than the first, numbering 184 pages and containing, in addition to transcripts and translations of the royal decrees, an extensive genealogy (filled with high sounding names) of the Peralta family back in the 15th century, the wills of the first baron and of his son, and other evidence gathered in Mexico and Spain.

The amended claim of 1887 rested on the original documents of grant and the will of Don Miguel Nemécio de Peralta de la Córdoba de Carrillo de las Falces—to give his full title—who left the Arizona barony to his only son Jesús Miguel. The only child of Jesús Miguel, a daughter, married about 1860 a Don José Maso of Cadiz. The Peralta family at that time was apparently living in Sonora. In 1862, while journeying to San Francisco with her family, Mrs. Maso gave birth to twins, a boy and girl, near San Bernardino; the infants were baptised in the old mission church of San Salvador. A few days later the mother and boy died. The sorrowing survivors continued the journey to San Francisco where Maso, followed shortly by his father-in-law, the second baron, sailed for Spain to collect certain moneys owed them by the Spanish government. Both died in Spain within two years. Meanwhile the grandmother took the little girl to the Sherwood Valley, home of Maso's friend James Treadway, and there the grandmother died in 1867. Sophia Loreta was brought up in California with no evidence of her noble lineage or her great inheritance until the day when James Addison Reavis spied her from the rear of a railway carriage and unfolded to her her bright future.

In abandoning claim on his own behalf, Reavis explained that for some time he had been convinced that the Willing papers, filed four years earlier, contained forgeries, but that he lacked certain proof of his wife's claim until he finally discovered the will of the second Baron in the Spanish archives. Still no action was taken until 1889, when Surveyor General Royal A. Johnson finally submitted a report on the grant to the Land Office in

Washington. It was published in Phoenix by the Arizona Gazette Book and Job Office in 1890 as *Adverse Report of the Surveyor General of Arizona, Royal A. Johnson, upon the Alleged Peralta Grant; a Complete Exposé of Its Fraudulent Character.* Copies exist in the libraries of the universities of Arizona and California, and the library of the Arizona Pioneer Historical Society. It was a masterly demolition job. Johnson noted the absence of important documents. He called attention to the apparent use of a steel pen in documents supposed to have been written before steel pens came into common use. He told of fruitless searches made by his agents in Spanish and Mexican archives, and of Reavis producing documents from archives where land records were not normally filed. He cited as an example the discovery of a copy of a Peralta will inserted in the record books of the Mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson. In an appendix to the report the territorial attorney general, Clark Churchill, quoted from the documents a dozen or more instances of crude Mexican border Spanish. Johnson ended with a flourish:

> . . . one more point in this report. . . . The following question was asked by this office of the Mexican government; What rule appears to have been observed in Mexico at the time the document . . . referred to is said to have been executed? Were the original concessions, recommendations, etc., filed as records or copies of the same? Did the government put on file the originals or the copies? Did the grantees receive the originals or copies of the same?
>
> The archivero answering says: "The viceroy and the royal supreme court generally made the grants of land and water rights in the name of his majesty the king of Spain, keeping certified copy on file in the section of grants, and the original document was delivered to the interested party as a safe guard for his title."
>
> I now ask the claimant or claimants to produce this original grant of the viceroy.

A question occurs at this point: Why did it take the Surveyor General six years to make the report? The answer is found in an extensive file of official correspondence in the National Archives

in Record Group 49, called *Arizona Private Land Claim Docket 18*. At the time of the original filing in 1883 the then Surveyor, J. W. Robbins, was a seriously ill man. He died in a few months and his place was taken by Royal A. Johnson, a thorough, methodical worker with a strong sense of duty. Much other business was pending in the office. Johnson refused to be hurried, though subjected to pressure from Reavis and the settlers. His cautious attitude earned him the bitter enmity of many, particularly of newspapers like the Phoenix *Herald* which even hinted that his father, a New York attorney, was acting as counsel for Reavis.

In 1885 when Johnson reported to the Commissioner of the Land Office that no records could be located in pertinent Mexican or Spanish archives, he was ordered to cease work on the claim. The amended claim, filed two years later, clearly called for reopening investigation, but John Hise, who had replaced Johnson under President Cleveland, took no action. Finally in 1889, Johnson was reappointed Surveyor by President Harrison, and made his famous adverse report. Its publication made him the lion of the hour. A gala reception was held in his honor in Phoenix, and his old adversary the *Herald* apologized handsomely.

If Arizona thought it had heard the last of the Peralta Grant and the Beanpole Baron, it was greatly mistaken. Apparently unshaken by Johnson's report, Reavis filed suit against the government. In the Bancroft Library and the Museum of New Mexico library are copies of a 31-page pamphlet, printed by Gibson Brothers in Washington in 1890, headed, *In the Court of Claims of the United States . . . J. A. Peralta Reavis and Dona Sophia Loreta Micaela de Maso Reavis y Peralta de la Cordoba, His Wife . . . v. The United States of America, Petition of Claimants*. It recites the injuries done the claimants by the United States which, without the claimants' consent and permission, allowed surveys to be extended over their lands, threw open the lands to settlement and purchase, appropriated excessive waters from the Gila River for public use and did other damage. The claimants, therefore,

prayed the court for a judgment of six million dollars "damage as aforesaid" and for further judgment in the sum of five million dollars, or eleven million in all, "and for all further and other relief which the Court can grant, both legal and equitable." The claimants also stated that they knew the Surveyor General had made some report on the grant to the Land Office, but that they were unable to obtain a copy from the government and were ignorant of its nature. Not the least interesting feature of this petition is the section which lists the properties which Reavis and his wife conveyed to others pending a final settlement, and the amounts paid for the conveyances. Among them are the $50,000 paid by the Southern Pacific, $25,000 paid by the Silver King Mining Company, and some 150 sums ranging from $10 to $2,500 for a total of $145,900.

The following year, 1891, Congress created a special Court of Private Land Claims to settle the vexed problem of Southwest land grants. In its creation Reavis later boasted that he had had some influence. It was before this court in 1893 that he again filed claim. William Strover, then working as a draughtsman in the Surveyor's office in Santa Fe, recalled in an account published in 1919, that:

> . . . an express wagon drove up . . . and unloaded an array of boxes and packages, all addressed to the court and marked "Peralta Grant." When all was unpacked, there were three large tables, placed end to end, filled with documents, ancient books, pictures, including a large oil painting of the Marquis de Peralta, in his robes as grandee of Spain. There were documents, with large leaden seals attached and signed by the king of Spain. There was a complete history of the marquis, letters to him and from him. There were authenticated copies of all the descendants of the marquis . . . up to the last one.[1]

The large oil painting has apparently disappeared, though Will Tipton used it to illustrate his article, "Prince of Impostors." Some of the other items, too, appear to be lost. But in a

[1] *Arizona; the New State Magazine*, X (Sept. 1918), 5-6.

large cardboard box in the vault of the Land Office in Santa Fe there still exists a veritable treasury of Peralta materials. There is a volume bound in limp cherry leather containing photographs of a printed cédula, and a manuscript cédula, a certificate of title dated 1863 in Guadalajara, and photographs of a party, including the Baroness, on a trip of exploration in the Salt River Valley, during which the original boundary stone of the grant was located with a crude map chipped on its surface. A large cloth bound volume contains a beautifully emblazoned coat of arms of the Peralta family, and manuscript copies of records found in the archives of the Common Council of Guadalajara, purporting to show the basis of the grant. A black binder contains depositions of witnesses to the Baroness' childhood, taken in behalf of Reavis and his wife. Another book contains photographs of defendants' exhibits 1 to 44. There are other pieces, a dozen in all, submitted in evidence before the court. Last, but not least, in a suède pouch is the two-pound leaden seal of Spain allegedly attached to one of the original documents.

The process of the intense government investigation which followed the filing of the case before the Court of Private Land Claims can be studied in Record Groups 23 and 60 in the National Archives. The University of Arizona Library holds microfilm copies. These records preserve the correspondence and reports of Matthew Reynolds, attorney for the United States and Severo Mallet-Prevost, special government investigator. In them one can follow the government agents from California to Mexico to Spain and back as they traced Reavis from archive to archive, from witness to witness. Finally a resident of Sherwood Valley who had claimed knowledge of Sophia's childhood and parentage admitted perjury, and as this link in the chain of evidence for the claimant snapped, the whole chain burst apart.

In preparation of its case the government printed much of the testimony taken by the claimants and by its own investigators under the general title *Certificacion de un Expediente, etc. etc. sobre los*

Bienes del Difunto Don Miguel Silva de Peralta de la Cordoba, etc. etc. The volume contains some translations of documents, but more important are the depositions of witnesses taken by Judge Joseph Reed of the Court of Private Land Claims, and the depositions taken by Reavis for presentation at the trial in the Court of Claims—a trial which never took place. Copies of this scarce volume are in the law library of the University of New Mexico and in the Phoenix Public Library. The Phoenix library copy contains laid-in photographs of pictures of the Peralta ancestors which Reavis discovered in Spain.

The trial before the Court of Private Land Claims opened in Santa Fe on June 3, 1895. It is recorded in a volume titled *Amended Answer and Cross Petition of the United States; Translations, Documentary Evidence, and Exhibits of the Government; Transcript of Testimony Taken on Trial of the Case and the Final Decree of the Court,* one thousand, one hundred and fifty-five pages, printed in Santa Fe in 1895.[2] Copies of all or parts are in the Land Office in Santa Fe and in the library of the New Mexico Supreme Court. This is the complete record of the final act of the Peralta drama.

The government opened its case on June 3. Reavis did not appear until June 10, and then entirely alone. He complained that the government moved to trial so hastily that his lawyers were unable to appear because of prior commitments. Actually, his last remaining defenders had quietly dissociated themselves from the case as news of government investigations leaked out. In the days that followed, Matt Reynolds, attorney for the United States, hammered away at two points: forgeries in the documents and the real parentage and childhood of the alleged Baroness. In one document, otherwise genuine, he demonstrated that the word *visitador* had been substituted for *virrey,* and the words *Baron de Arizonaca* for *Conde de Fuenclara* in a proclamation to the citizens of Guadalajara. He showed forgeries in the baptism and burial rec-

[2] Contents and pagination differ in each of the copies the writer has seen. Pagination cited here is from the copy loaned the writer by Rosemary Taylor of Tucson.

ords of the mission church at San Bernardino. He revealed that government agents, sent to Spain, learned that Reavis had actually been apprehended in the act of inserting false records into the archives of Seville and had left the country hurriedly. Finally Reynolds introduced testimony to show that Mrs. Reavis was really the child of an American adventurer and an Indian woman. The climax came when the Baroness on the witness stand broke under hours of steady questioning as to her knowledge of the documents in the case.

"You have never read [the papers] to know of your own knowledge?" Reynolds demanded.

"No sir," the Baroness answered, "because, if you want to know, I have never gone to school but three months in my life; everybody has been jumping on me and keeping me from everything . . ."

At this point she burst into tears, her twin boys clinging in bewilderment to her skirts. The court was visibly affected, but it was not turned from its purpose. Testimony was concluded June 18. A week later the decree of the court declared the grant wholly fictitious and fraudulent, that no such person as Don Miguel Némecio de Peralta de la Córdoba ever existed and therefore the claim was rejected and petition dismissed.

In the following months Reavis was arrested, indicted, tried and convicted of conspiracy to defraud the government. The rather lenient sentence was two years' confinement in the federal penitentiary.

The actual origin of the Peralta Grant still remains partly veiled by mystery. However, evidence brought out at the trial and confirmed in a series of letters written in 1918 by Perry Rader, Missouri Supreme Court reporter, points to W. W. Gitt. Gitt was a notorious landshark in the Mississippi valley around St. Louis in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1847 he was involved in a suit over land claims in New Madrid. The court discovered that the deed by which Gitt claimed had been signed some months

after the death of the deeder and issued a warrant for his arrest. Gitt managed to escape down the river on a boat. After the peace which ended the Mexican war he turned up in Guadalajara, where it was later found that he had removed twenty pages from a volume in the land archives and substituted an equal number. "Reavis was informed by one of the clerks in the Archives Office," Rader wrote, "that Gitt had prepared the Willing papers while there. This is the first plausible account of the origin of the whole business." Reavis admitted that Gitt had accompanied Willing on an early visit to Reavis's real estate office. He may have brought then the first of the forged royal decrees that Willing obtained from Gitt and which Reavis later obtained from the Prescott attic.

After his release from prison Reavis occasionally tried his hand at one of his old professions—journalism. In 1899 he published a confession in the San Francisco *Call*. There he wrote:

> . . . during my life as a soldier [I] committed my first crime. I forged an order, and being successful in this, I raised a furlough, and before this expired, I surrendered to the Union forces. After the war I opened a real estate office in St. Louis. I was successful in forging title to sustain a tax title to some valuable land I had bought, not knowing the title was imperfect. But these are incidents in which there is little interest. However, success in these early evils sowed the seed that later sprang forth into the most gigantic fraud of this century.
>
> The plan to secure the Peralta Grant and defraud the Government out of land valued at $100,000,000 was not conceived in a day. At first the stake was small, but it grew and grew in magnitude until even I sometimes was appalled at the thought of the possibilities. I was playing a game which to win meant greater wealth than that of a Gould or a Vanderbilt. My hand constantly gained strength, noted men pleaded my cause, and unlimited capital was at my command. My opponent was the Government, and I baffled its agents at every turn. Gradually I became exultant and sure. Until the very moment of my downfall I gave no thought to failure. But my sins found me out and as in the twinkle of an eye I saw the millions which had seemed already in my grasp fade away and heard the courts doom me to a prison cell.

Now I am growing old and the thing hangs upon me like a nightmare until I am driven to make a clean breast of it all, that I may end my days in peace.[3]

[3] *Call*, March 26, 1899, p. 17.

Bibliographical Notes

The Manuscripts of Whitman's "Song of the Redwood-Tree"

Two autograph manuscripts of Walt Whitman's "Song of the Redwood-Tree" are preserved in the collection of Clifton Waller Barrett recently presented to the University of Virginia Library, the note on the initial leaf of the first manuscript signed "W. W." indicating that these were preserved by and come down to us from the poet himself. The first manuscript represents what may be the earliest semi-connected form of the poem, although doubtless verses from these sections had, as usual, been written out previously in miscellaneous papers now lost or scattered. This draft is in part composed on pieces of paper containing material dated 30 September, 15 October, 17 October, and 25 October.

Only a few days could have intervened between this latest date of 25 October and the inscription of the second manuscript, for the Barrett Collection contains a letter from *Harper's Magazine* enclosing payment for the poem and dated 1 November, 1873. The facts are unknown, but it is probable that from this second manuscript Whitman made a fair copy to send to *Harper's*: the manuscript itself is certainly in no condition to send to the printer. The poem first appeared in *Harper's* for February, 1874, and was next printed in the 1882 *Leaves of Grass*. The variants between the *Harper's* printing and the second manuscript may have arisen in the conjectured fair copy as well as in proof.

The two manuscripts are here provided in a diplomatic reprint with indication of the lining. The first manuscript, because of its extensive reworking, has not been given continuous verse-numbering, and the material is reprinted leaf by leaf including notes and other matter found on the versos of some leaves. Notes on the text and its revision are placed under the lines for each leaf. The second manuscript has been given continuous verse-numbering, but again for convenience each leaf has been treated as a unit with accompanying physical description and notes. However, supplementary material for this manuscript has been placed at the end, where will

also be found the *Harper's* letter. I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the kindness of Mr. Clifton Waller Barrett in making these manuscripts available to me and in giving me permission to publish them at a time before his munificent gift. The poems are reprinted, now, with the concurring assent of the University of Virginia Library.

FIRST (DRAFT) MANUSCRIPT

[#1. Piece of thin light brown wove paper (6⅞ x 9), black ink, in large characters.]

Camden,
Oct. & Nov. '73.

Song of the Redwood Tree.

(rough draft — — mems. | printed sketch, | letter from Harper's Mag.) | &c. | W. W.

[#2. Piece of white wove paper (8 1/16 x 4 15/16, seemingly a blank leaf torn out from a book. Writing in blue crayon unless otherwise specified.]

[recto]

Song of the Redwood | Tree | & other pieces

1] beneath this title is drawn a horizontal line, and below this, written the other way on the leaf, is deleted '*Eidolons.*'

[verso, all writing deleted by a single vertical stroke in blue crayon. The second line '*Waves in the Vessel's* | *Wake.*' was independently crossed through by a horizontal stroke.]

? Eidolons
Waves in the Vessel's | *Wake.*

[the following in a grey-black ink]
Waves, undulating | *waves*—

[#3. Piece of ruled white wove paper (7¾ x 4⅞). The notes are in pencil but the title in blackish ink. In the space below the first note is boldly written in blue crayon, '*Song of the Redwood* | *Tree* | Oct. '73'; and in the lower left margin 'Nov. '73 | Camden'. Cluster of pin holes in center.]

A California song.

Make the song as | from the tree | (first person)
a passage depicting | (prophesying) a great | stalwart emotional | race of larger men & women
use this point to express | fully my California views
[horizontal rule]

I love the sea,
I bathe in its breezes, | and hear its voice
[horizontal rule]
A new race shall arise
Superber women & men
Large of body & larger of | soul

2 larger] interlined.
3 use this ... views] these two lines are braced to the right with a drawn-in fist pointing to them.
5 I bathe] above this is the deleted false start 'Near'.

[#4-5. Pieces of ruled white wove paper (8 1/16 x 5 1/16), cluster of pin holes in the center. The rectos written in pencil, lines parallel to the shorter margin; the versos in black ink, the lines parallel to the longer margin.

[#4 recto]
A mighty tree is falling
Out of the redwood forests | dense

Riven By the loggers' axes
Back from the rock bound coast & the | caves
A mile or two from the sea
With the low hoarse base | of the surge for accumpaniment
In the sounding blows of the | loggers' axes, | and near its fall
I heard the mighty tree its death-chant | chanting,

Along the northern coast
Amid the mountains and | streams, and the damp | air from the sea
Back from

1 falling] written below two deleted false starts, the first the letter *f*, the second 'at'.
2 Out of] above is the deleted false start 'Out from'.
3 Riven] interlined.
3 loggers'] interlined.
3 axes] following this is deleted 'of'.
4 Back ... caves] crowded in as an afterthought.
6 With] written currently after deleted *Ami* followed by some incompletely formed letter.
6 base] interlined above deleted 'sound'.
7 In] interlined above deleted 'By'.
7 axes] *x* mended over *g* and a following illegible letter.
7 and near its fall] the position of this phrase is uncertain. It appears above a deleted 'I heard' and at the end of the line in interlined position, the 'and' beginning above 'axes'. However, the reading 'fall' is not definite, and it could perhaps be 'full', in which case the phrase was crowded in and intended to complete the part-line 'of the surge for accompaniment' two lines above.
8 I heard the] 'I heard' interlined above deleted 'A' and a caret at the start of the verse. Another caret after 'A', seems to point to 'that', written in later and then deleted. Finally 'the' was placed after deleted 'that'.

[#5 recto]
My time then has come,
Long have I had my life, my | joys, befitting me
(For Know I too have | consciousness, identity?
Know I too have | a soul befitting me?)
Perennial hardy life, mid rain | and under a summer's sun | with the white | snows & night and the wild winds
O the great, patient joys!
Strong joys unknown to | man—joys of endurance
Joys through the centuries

2 Long have I had] originally, 'But I have'. 'But' was deleted and 'Yet' interlined, this being crossed through and 'Long' prefixed. Then 'have' was interlined before 'I'; the original 'have' was deleted after 'I', and 'had' interlined.

2 life] written currently after the deleted false start *y*.

2 befitting] interlined above deleted 'exper'. This phrase seems to have been a later addition. Below this verse is the deleted verse, '(Think'st I too have not a | soul befitting me?'.

3 (For Know] 'Know' was interlined above deleted 'Think'st'; subsequently, 'For' was prefixed.

3 have consciousness] originally 'have not | my consciousness', the 'not' and 'my' being crossed out.

4 Know] interlined above deleted 'Think'st'.

4 have] a following 'not' has been deleted.

5 hardy] interlined.

5 under a summer's sun] 'under' followed by 'a' was written over some other illegible word ending in *ing* which had been interlined above deleted 'sun'.

5 with] this is preceded by deleted 'And joys as well', the 'as well' having been interlined above a caret.

5 night and the] interlined above a caret after the deletion of 'and nights' following 'winds'.

6 O the . . . joys!] the line looks as if Whitman had originally written 'Calm &' then a long space to be filled in later, followed by 'joys!'. 'O the great' is interlined above deleted 'Calm &', and 'patient' follows above the line with some crowding before 'joys'.

[#4 verso, blackish ink, the lines deleted by vertical scrawls in pencil.]

for Century Verses
(a sonnet)

. . . To write such verses
That should my soul the real Me come back as doubtless it will
From time to time Invisibly, century after century,
It will with pleased smile resume them & peruse them
Again

1 such] interlined. The following 'verses' looks as if the final *s* were a later addition. Above this line is the deleted first start, '— . . . that write such verses'.

2 the real Me] interlined above a caret with a finer pen.

2 as doubtless it will] the original word following 'back' was 'invisibly',

which was deleted and 'from time to time' interlined ('to' being a further interlineation); this was deleted in favor of the final reading.

3 From time to time] prefixed above a caret as an interlineation.

3 Invisibly,] following this, an interlined 'from' is deleted.

4 resume them &] an interlineation following the deleted interlineation above a caret of 'again again'.

[#5 verso, black ink deleted by vertical pencil scribbles. The tear of the paper does not match #4, but the pencil deleting lines join to show #5 was once the lower part of a full leaf when these ink verso lines were written and deleted.]

Go said my Soul, (the real Me,)
Such Verses write for them we | love The States,
That when I back return, invisibly to them,
From time to time, at intervals, century after century,
I shall again with pleased smile | resume those Verses, and peruse them

1 (the real Me,)] the parentheses were added in blue crayon. 'real' was written currently after deleted *R*.

2 Verses] *V* mended from *v* in ink and triple underscored.

2 for them we love,] 'for' written in blue crayon above deleted 'to' (before this is ink-deleted 'that'); and 'we' in crayon above deleted 'thou' following the original crayon interlineation 'I' which is deleted. 'love' was originally 'lovest' with the *e* deleted in ink and an apostrophe substituted. The final *st* were deleted in crayon. After 'The States' is the crayon addition, deleted in pencil, '& for ourselves'.

3 That when I back return] originally, 'That when thou comest back,', which was deleted (except for 'That') and in ink 'should we back return' interlined, 'should' then being deleted and 'when' interlined. 'we' was then deleted in crayon and 'I' substituted.

3 invisibly] initial *i* is mended from *I*.

3 to them,] interlined above a caret in ink.

4 From] a preceding ink interlineation above a caret, 'Doubtless', has been deleted in ink.

4 at intervals,] interlined in pencil above an ink caret. This restored an original ink-interlining of the same words deleted in crayon. Before the ink 'at', in a lighter ink appears deleted 'as'.

4 after century] following this above a caret is deleted 'at intervals' in ink. Below the line, brought up by a guide to follow 'century' was written in crayon 'intervals hence', deleted in pencil.

4 shall again] originally the verse began 'Thou' which was currently deleted in favor of 'I will', 'will' then being deleted and 'may' interlined but deleted. When 'I' was deleted, 'We' was interlined, but this was excised first in crayon and then in pencil, and 'I' inserted in crayon, only to be deleted in pencil. Before 'again', the word 'shall' is an interlineation above a caret.

5 those Verses,] interlined in ink above deleted 'them'. Below 'peruse' are the ink-deleted letters 'al'. The last verse on the leaf has been deleted in blue crayon, 'The real Me, centuries hence, confirming them'.

[#6. Piece of ruled white laid paper with prominent wire markings ($8\frac{7}{16}$ x $4\frac{15}{16}$),

cluster of pin holes in center. Written in pencil. In upper right-hand corner within a semi-circular enclosure is the notation 'last'.]

So for a type for you, your | race, Pacific lands | where the Columbia winds or on the Willamette
Where the sea winds sweep | to the | Wahsatch or Nevadas
So may he hardy, innocent, gigantic grow—so tower | so fill his time
So climb the vast pure spaces unconfined
So laugh uncheck'd by wall or roof in storm & sun—so | joy—so patiently inure
So heed himself, unfold himself (not others heed)
So duly fall to aid unreck'd, unknown | at last,
So disappear to serve.

1 So for a type] above this are two deleted false starts, 'For type—you | for you the Californian race'.

1 your race, Pacific lands] originally, 'So for a type for you, you western race!', in which 'western' is written below deleted 'Californian'. This was the version of a separate pencil note, deleted by a single ink stroke, towards the bottom of the page, reading 'So for a type for you, you | California race!'. In the line in the text, an *r* is added in ink to the second 'you', and 'race, Pacific lands' written in ink beneath the touched-up word but without the necessary deletion of 'western race!'. The word 'the' probably intended as an alternate for 'western', which it follows, is also undeleted.

1 where the Columbia ... Willamette] this line is crowded in in ink beneath and partly written over the original pencil line 'So for a man for you—so for his basis', in which '—so for his basis' was a pencil-deleted interlineation. Presumably the line in ink is intended to substitute for the original. It is not clear, however, whether the added line was intended to start a new verse, since capitalization is not certain.

2 Where the sea ... Nevadas] this verse was written in ink at the foot of the leaf, and asterisked, the position being shown in the text by an asterisk placed below 'the' of 'where the Columbia'. 'sea' was interlined above deleted 'free', and 'sweep' above deleted 'blow'. 'to the' was written only after the deletion of the false starts 'fr' followed by 'toward'.

3 hardy, innocent, gigantic] interlined in pencil above a caret.

5 uncheck'd ... roof] interlined.

5 so patiently] 'so' interlined.

6 heed] the first *e* currently mended.

6 unfold himself] interlined above a caret.

7 duly] interlined above a caret.

8 serve] the first letter is uncertain, and resembles a *d*, as Whitman's *s* sometimes does.

[#7. Piece of quadrille paper (8 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 5¼), pin holes in center, and creased from folding in thirds. Written in pencil.]

(The teamsters, choppers, chain | and jackscrew men | heard not—the shanties | echoed not.
The quick-ear'd loggers' camp | heard not—but I heard.)

Murmuring out of its myriad leaves

Down From its lofty top—out of its trunk & limbs | —out of its foot-thick bark,
Voice of seasons & centuries—
Voice not of the past only, but future,

1 (The teamsters. . .] above this are deleted two lines of false starts. 'The loggers, choppers | The teeming loggers-camp heard not, | —the shanties echoed not,', in which 'teeming' is an interlineation.

1 and jackscrew] originally, 'men, and jackscrew', 'men, and' being deleted and later 'and' restored above the line.

2 quick-] interlined above deleted 'sharp-'.

3 out] interlined above a caret.

4 Down] prefixed as an interlineation.

4 trunk & limbs] originally only 'trunks', the *s* then being crossed out and '& limbs' interlined above a caret with a guide line.

4 —out of] interlined above deleted 'Through' beginning a new verse. In '-thick' the *c* is inserted.

5 Voice of seasons &] a final *s* in 'Voice' seems to have been deleted. 'seasons &' is interlined with a caret above deleted 'the'. After 'centuries', original '—Nature's | voice—' has been crossed through. A question mark is placed in the left margin opposite 'Voices'.

6 not] interlined above a caret.

[#8. Written in black ink on the back of a piece of fine tinted laid paper (4¼ x 7⅛), pin holes in the center, comprising one leaf cut from a fold of letter paper, a fragment of the letter on the verso. The second half of the leaf appears as leaf 3 of the final manuscript version.]

Lands of the Western shore!
A prouder breed for you—lords, monarchs, democratic;
In man your skies and airs,—your | mighty mountain peaks—Shasta— | Nevadas,
Your grand valleys, your antique trees, Yosemite | all these in man, of you, his soul,
Absorbed, assimilated, vivified.

2 A prouder] written above the deleted false start 'In man'.

3 your | mighty] 'your' added at the end of the line in a lighter ink after the deletion of 'Your' beginning a new verse before 'mighty'.

3 Shasta] a question mark is placed above this word.

4 grand valleys, your antique] 'grand' is written directly above 'valleys', and 'your' above 'antique' perhaps to await final decision.

4 all these] interlined in a lighter ink above a caret and deleted '-these'.

4 of you,] interlined above a caret. After 'soul' is deleted 'full'.

5 Absorbed] written after the deleted false start 'To'. Below this verse are two lines deleted by a diagonal stroke in the lighter ink: 'A prouder breed, for you— | Lords, monarchs, democratic,'. In these, the comma after 'breed' substitutes for a deleted dash; the *c* in 'monarchs' is mended over the start of another letter.

[verso #8. beginning of a letter to Whitman, deleted by a single vertical stroke in blue crayon.]

Boston
96 Washington St
30 Sept '73

My dear Mr. Whitman,
I am very glad, indeed, | to receive a renewed | assurance of your | improving health, | and I thank you for | kindly remembering to | send me the paper | which contained the | hopeful intelligence

[leaf 3 verso of second manuscript, containing continuation of letter from verso of #8 of draft manuscript.]

I presume that you have | not been able as yet | to attend to any sort of literary effort. I desire | to procure copies of each | of your works as they | appear—and I trust you | will not allow me to | fail of this.
With most hearty wishes for | your complete and speedy | recovery. I remain always, | Yours sincerely, | Albert B. Otis.

[#9. Piece of ruled white wove paper (8 x 5), an embossed device of a Mercury hat and caduceus in the upper left corner. At the top is the deleted heading for a letter. To the left, '431 Stevens st. | cor West'; and at the right, 'Camden, | Saturday forenoon | Oct. 25.' Pin holes clustered in center. Written in dark brown ink except for the final verse, which is in a blacker ink.]

The Cascade range
On the Pacific—from the | Rocky [*above this*, 'from the Wasatch'] Mountains to the | Pacific coast
The great river
From
The Columbia to the | Colorado
The mountain ranges & the rivers
The mighty area | from the Wasatch to the | coast
Mt. Shasta
the Nevadas
Wide-mouth'd Columbia to | the north, and southern | Colorado,

2 Pacific coast] 'Pacific' interlined above a caret.
5 Columbia] after this is deleted 'river'.
6 mountain] before this is deleted 'mighty', the stroke being in a lighter ink.
7 mighty] interlined in a lighter ink above deleted 'vast and varied'.

[#10. Piece of ruled white wove paper, with Mercury hat embossed device in re-

verse at upper right (8 x 5), pin holes in center. Written in blackish ink, only two verses towards the bottom, between horizontal lines, undeleted by a vertical ink stroke. At upper left is the deleted false start 'As'. At upper right, added at some indeterminate time, is the false start 'T tor' followed by 'A new Man | and a new | empire'.]

[deleted lines]
To
A ['This' *written above as an alternate*] brighter, vaster, teeming | land
(As if some dryad | I heard)
To you we dedicate,
As if the sounds I heard of | the wood,
Voices of century lasting unseen dryads, | now | withdrawing
[undeleted lines]
As of the wood-spirits' | voices ancient, rustly, speaking,
Voices of century-lasting unseen | dryads, now withdrawing
[deleted lines]
To the New Man, | —to you the Empire new
You, promised long, we dedicate, |

3 dryad] before this is the deleted interlineation above a caret, 'modern'. After 'dryad' is deleted 'here voice' above which is interlined what appears to be deleted 'so'.

4 To] above this is the false start *W*.

4 dedicate,] after this is deleted 'at'.

5 the sounds] 'the' written above deleted 'some'.

5 the wood.] this is crowded in as a part line, perhaps as an afterthought. The MS. reads literally 'wood. s', as if the *s* were an alternate form about which decision was not made.

6 century lasting] interlined above a caret. In 'lasting' the *a* is smudged and written over what may be *on*. 'century' is in lighter ink.

6 dryads,] following this, and beginning the next line, is deleted 'century-lasting,'.

7 of the wood-spirits'] originally, 'the speaking of wood-spirits'. Before 'the' was interlined 'if', this being deleted and 'of' substituted. A heavy deleting stroke excises some final letter of 'the'. 'speaking of' was crossed through.

7 voices] interlined above a caret.

9 Man,] following is deleted 'long promised—'.

9 —to you] interlined above deleted 'to'.

10 promised] before this is deleted 'the'.

10 dedicate,] following this and beginning a new line is deleted 'to you'.

[#11. Piece of ruled white laid paper ($8\frac{1}{16}$ x $4\frac{15}{16}$), cluster of pin holes in center. Written in pencil, and all but one verse deleted by a diagonal pencil stroke.]

[deleted lines]
The voice of a mighty | riven tree, in the | redwood forest dense
[undeleted lines]

Farewell
My time has ended, my term has | come,—
[deleted lines]
In the midst of the landscape vast, | the mountains | under the shining sun
Amid the pomp of earth | & heaven I die

1 mighty] interlined with a caret above deleted 'falling'.
1 riven] interlined above a caret. At the start of this line is the deleted 'My time', and in the line below that, 'My term'.
2 Farewell] added in the left margin and brought into position by guide lines.
4 In the midst of the] written above deleted 'The'. Above this verse are the deleted false starts, 'Greater than forests, | Great | Amid the pomp of earth & | heaven I die,'.
4 vast] after this is deleted 'the | shining sun,'.
5 I die] at the foot of the leaf, written the other way of the leaf, is deleted 'O the great joys'.

[#12. Piece of blue tinted wove paper (8¾ x 6⅞), pin holes in center of upper and lower halves. Written in dark brown-black ink on the back of a letter to Mrs. George Whitman.]

or chorus of dryads, fading, departing,
Or hamadryads departing.
The busy New arriving, assuming possession
The Old, with all its fables, duly | withdrawing
The fields of Nature, long prepared, and | fallow
The slow and steady ages—the unoccupied surface ripening | —the rich ores forming beneath, | —the wondrous chemistry,
The Genius of the modern, child of the | Real and Ideal,
Fresh, as to a new and virgin | World, the Genius of the Modern
Child of the Real & Id
A swarming & busy race settling & organizing
The flashing & golden pageant of California
Populous broad and ample land, with
Cities with all the inventions | & gold & silver, | & wool and wheat and the grape

3 busy] interlined above a caret. The rest of the interlineation, '& real' was crossed through.
3 assuming] interlined above deleted 'taking'.
4 duly] written after deleted 'gently'.
5 prepared,] after this an interlineation above a caret, 'unoccupied' has been deleted.
6 slow] 'long' was interlined above deleted original 'slow', then crossed out and 'slow' restored.
6 unoccupied] interlined above a caret.

6 ripening] before this is the deleted false start *f*.

8 Fresh] before this the two false-start words 'The Arriving' have been deleted independently.

11 of California] this is a later addition. Above it is interlined the undeleted alternate for the preceding words, with a question mark, 'The sudden & gorgeous pageant'.

12 Populous] a later addition prefixed to deleted original 'The'. The whole line appears to be crowded in as an addition.

13 & gold] before this is deleted '—silver'.

13 grape] *a* mended over one or two illegible letters.

[verso, letter deleted by a vertical stroke with blue crayon]

New York. Oct 17th

My dear friend:

I see by the | paper this morning that "Walt | Whitman is reported dangerously | ill." Of course we are all greatly | distressed at the news. Will | you be so kind as to write | me at once whether it is *true* | and is there no *hope*!

Yours very truly
Abby H. Price

To Mrs. George Whitman
Address 331 E. 55th St.

[#13. Ruled white laid paper with vertical marginal set of rules ($8\frac{1}{16}$ x $5\frac{15}{16}$), a few pin holes in center. Written mostly in blackish ink with much pencil notation.]

Thus on the northern coast | in the lumbermen's camp | In the free air, | inhaling | the | forest perfume, | (describe more of the | scene, with the | teamsters & choppers
To the music of chopper's axes, the chant of the falling | tree—the crash, the muffled | shriek the groan,
Those sounds from the redwood branches (as | of wood-spirits' voices, prophetic ancient, | and rustling
Voices of century-lasting, unseen | dryads, now withdrawing)
To the deities of the west, the modern yielding
In the forest I caught,
Columbia | Colorado | Cascade mts | Nevadas | Wahsatch

1 Thus on the ...] this verse was written in the line above the deleted start, 'Thus musing', which originally continued with 'in the lumberman's camp'.

1 in the lumbermen's camp] *b* is mended over *p*, and *rm* are joined by mending over an original hyphen. The phrase is preceded by a question mark. What appears to be an alternate is interlined at top right and down the margin, 'In the free air, inhaling | the | forest perfume,'. In this interlineation 'In the

free air inhaling' is written in ink, the rest in pencil. Before 'the' following 'inhaling' is pencil 'in' deleted in ink.

1 describe more] above this is interlined in pencil 'in the', possibly the start of the addition planned as 'in the forest perfume'. ' , with the teamsters & choppers' is added in pencil.

2 To the . . . groan,] written in pencil. In the line above is the deleted false start in pencil, 'Where the wind', with 'unseen' interlined before 'wind'. 'music of chopper's axes' interlined in ink above deleted 'sound ringing'. 'chant of the' is interlined above a caret. In 'the crash' following 'the' is the deleted false start *ch*, followed by 'long', which was crossed out at a later time.

3 Those sounds from] originally, 'In the sounds of', with currently deleted 'and' preceding 'of'. 'Mid' was interlined in ink above deleted 'In'; then in pencil 'Mid the' was deleted and 'Those' substituted; farther on, 'of' was excised and 'from' interlined. Above this verse is the line crossed through in pencil and also deleted by a diagonal ink stroke, 'Still in the forest I pondered', in which 'in the forest' is interlined above deleted 'further'.

3 redwood branches] interlined with a caret above deleted 'forest'; 'branches' appears to have been added later.

3 prophetic] interlined in pencil above a caret.

4 century-] before this is currently deleted 'unseen'.

4 withdrawing)] above this is interlined in pencil and deleted in ink, 'to the modern yielding'.

5 To the deities . . . yielding] an addition crowded in between the lines.

6 In] originally, 'Still in', the first word being deleted in pencil and 'in' capitalized.

6 caught,] interlined in pencil above deleted 'pondered'.

7-8 Columbia . . . Wahsatch] these notes added in pencil after a space.

[#14. Piece of ruled white laid paper (5 x 8 1/8), pin holes in center, written in blackish ink on the back of a letter to Whitman.

Nor these alone ¶—not dedicate to these | alone, land of the Western Shore,

And yet, land of the Western Shore,
More, more, far more than these
These but the implements, materials,
We see in the these the hope & chance of man

1 Nor] above this is the deleted false start 'But'.

1 ¶—not] the paragraph sign is interlined after 'alone'; a deleted paragraph sign was interlined after the dash and before 'not'.

2 And yet] immediately under the verse above, Whitman wrote 'And Man' and then deleted it. Above 'And' is deleted 'But'.

5 these] the reading is uncertain. The last letter has been mended, but it is not clear whether the intent was to change 'thee' to 'these'; or 'these' to 'thee'.

[verso, letter deleted by a vertical stroke with blue crayon. In the upper left corner is an embossed seal containing the letters 'P & P' within a decorative border.]

Washington Oct 15. 1873

Dear Walt:

Your letter came to hand | yesterday with the key of the trunk

en-|closed. In accordance with your request | I met Peter Doyle at Milburn's after office | and we proceeded to your room and | made up the package as you directed, and | Peter took it to the Adams Express office. | The contents are. *Gray-suit*, coat, vest & | *one* pair of pants. *Black overcoat. Black* | *felt hat. Pair of Buckskin gloves.* | You should receive them in good order to-day, | as they were strongly enveloped & plainly directed. | Let me know if you get them all right. | I return the key enclosed herewith. Let me know how you are as often as you | can. You had but one ['pair of' *interlined*] gray pants, at least | that was all there was in that trunk.

Affectionately Yours. Charley

[#15. Piece of ruled white wove paper (7 1/8 x 5), a few pin holes in center. The paper contains the embossed die of the Juniata Mills, Pennsylvania. Written in blackish ink.]

(Surely I did not dream)

Of the heroic land, a prophecy.
Land of the larger, simpler, healthier | modern race,

Land of sweet air! | Land of the towering peaks!

Land of a myriad peaks!
Land of a sweeter air & richer soil!

2 Of the] 'the' interlined above deleted 'a'.
2 a prophecy] 'a' interlined above deleted 'the'.
3 the larger] 'the' interlined above deleted 'a'. Interlined somewhat higher after this is, '—the coming race,' which is probably a note but could just possibly be an added continuation of the verse above.
3 modern] interlined above a caret.
4 Land ... air!] interlined above a caret.

[#16. Piece of ruled white wove paper (7 3/8 x 4 7/8), cluster of pin holes in center. Written in pencil.]

The influences of nature,
The winter & the summer—night | and day,
The nourishment of the ground, the | sun, air, rain
The vast pure spaces, unconfined | by wall or roof.

So fall to aid unreck'd unknown
So disappear to serve,

So give me unsophisticate virtuse

So may I grow—so tower my time
So laugh in storm & sun—so patiently endure
So disappear | in use.—so fall | at last.
So, heeding myself, heeding not what I am not | —unfolding | what is in myself,

3 nourishment] interlined above deleted 'virtues'.
5 So fall] 'fall' interlined above deleted 'disappear'. This verse and the next are braced at the left.
5 aid] interlined above deleted 'serve', with a question mark then placed above it.
5 unknown] interlined above a caret. A deleted 'unknown' appears written below 'to serve'.
6 disappear] interlined above deleted 'fall'.
6 serve,] following this is deleted 'unknown'.
7 unsophisticate] interlined above a caret.
7 virtuse] *stet*
8 grow—so] interlined and brought down to a caret by a guide line.
8 my] interlined above deleted 'in'.
9 —so patiently endure] interlined following 'sun' in the right margin but without precise indication of position. The whole verse 'So laugh . . .' appears to be an addition.
10 disappear] before this is deleted 'fall—so'.
10 —so fall at last.] an addition. The *t* of 'at' is mended over two letters which may be *ll* or *le*.
11 heeding myself, heeding not] interlined above a caret.
11 not—infolding] after 'not' is deleted 'my', the *y* not fully formed, and above this deleted 'heeding'. Deleted at the beginning of the next line is '—heeding myself,'.

[#17. Piece of ruled white laid paper (6 x 4¾), cluster of pin holes in upper center (corresponding to center of a full-sized leaf). Written in pencil. The paper has an embossed paper-maker's die, the initials not now legible.]

The tree prophecies
My time has come | to depart
I have served my purpose | (evolution)
A race of great men is | now to appear
See to it that they too | fill their plase as I | have mine

2 My] interlined above deleted 'The'. 2 come] after this is deleted 'for | me'.

[#18. Piece of ruled white wove paper (7¾ x 4 7/8), cluster of pin holes in center. Written in pencil.]

The spinal idea of | the poem
[short horizontal line]
I, (the tree) have | fill'd my time, and | fill'd it grandly
All is prepared for | you—my | termination comes

prophecy a great | *race*—great | as the mountains | and the trees
[horizontal line]
Intersperse with *italic* | (first person speaking) the same | as in
"Out of the Cradle | endlessly rocking"

3 —my] after this is deleted original 'time'.

4 mountains] interlined above deleted 'scene'.

[#19. Piece of ruled white laid paper ($7\frac{9}{16}$ x $4\frac{13}{16}$), cluster of pin holes in center. Written in pencil.]

. . . or seemed to say
I too have my life,
Identity have of my own
Think not all is confined | to man
Dim, [ ]
I too have a soul.
A crash muffled shriek, a groan, a sob,
To speak is not to | utter words merely
To him | rapport with me | I speak enough

1 . . . or] in the left margin is deleted 'Or'.

5 Dim,] following this are several letters representing a broken-off word. They are a mere scrawl and may represent *uno* (or *una*) or else *imo* (or *ima*) with an undotted *i*. A last stroke may be an *r*.

7 crash] interlined above a caret.

9 him] after this is deleted 'who is'.

9 enough] a torn-off part of the leaf obscures part of this word, but the reading is fairly certain.

[#20. Piece of ruled white wove paper ($4\frac{1}{4}$ x $4\frac{7}{8}$), cluster of pin holes at foot (center of full leaf), and another in center of the piece. Written in pencil.]

Lessons to the | *race to grow*
Majesty, amplitude heal
Lessons to myself

2 amplitude] *d* written currently over the start of a *t*. 'heal' (health?) is broken off.

SECOND MANUSCRIPT

Eleven irregular pieces of paper numbered 1-11 in blue crayon in the upper right corner, stanza numbering in crayon being found in the top center of some pieces. Written in blackish ink.

[leaf 1. Ruled white wove paper (4⅞ x 7½), cluster of pin holes in center. Numbered '1' at head beneath the title, and again in the right top corner, both in blue crayon. Written in blackish ink. Pasted on at the foot is a small piece of ruled white laid paper (2⅛ x 4$\frac{15}{16}$), a few pin holes in its center, written in pencil but revised in blackish ink.]

Song of the Redwood Tree

1

A California song
A prophesy & indirection—a thought im-|palpable to breathe as air,
A chorus of dryads, fading, departing—or hamadryads depart-
ing;
A giant mur-|muring, fateful voice, out of the earth | & air,
Voice of a mighty dying tree in the redwood | forest dense.
[paste-on]
Farewell my brethren,
Farewell, O earth & sky—farewell | ye neighboring waters
My time has ended, my term has come.

3 A chorus ... departing;] crowded in as an addition. The spelling is almost *hamddryads*.

4 giant murmuring] between these two words is deleted in pencil, 'voice, but not in words—a'.

4 fateful] interlined above deleted 'dying'.

4 & air,] below this line is the ink-deleted verse, '(Or chorus of dryads, fading, departing—or | hamadryads departing;)'.

5 of] interlined above a caret.

6 Farewell] a question mark is placed above this. After 'brethren,' has been added in ink '—farewell', then deleted.

7 Farewell,] interlined in ink above deleted original 'Farewell' without a comma.

7 —farewell] added in ink at the end of the line.

7 ye neighboring] before 'ye' is ink-deleted 'Farewell' originally beginning a new verse. 'neighboring' is interlined in ink above deleted 'distant'.

8 My time ... come.] crowded in in ink at the foot. 'My' is written over '—my'.

[leaf 2. Ruled soft handmade laid paper, with fragment of watermark 'MADE' (4⅞ x 7¾), a cluster of pin holes in the center. On the back is the pencil draft of a letter by Whitman, deleted by a stroke of blue crayon. The leaf is numbered '2' at the head and in the right top corner.]

2

Along the northern coast,
Just | back from the rock bound shore, & the caves
In the saline air from the sea in the Mendocino country
With the surge for | base & accompaniment, hoarse,
With crackling blows of | axes, driven by strong arms, sounding
musically through the woods,

Riven deep by the sharp tongues of | the axes,—there in the redwood forest dense
I heard the mighty tree its death-chant | chanting.

10 Just] interlined in pencil above deleted 'In the damp and saline air from the sea—just', in which 'and saline' was interlined above a caret.

10 & the caves] an addition, crowded in above a caret.

11 In the saline . . . country] crowded in between the lines in pencil, 'saline' being written above deleted 'damp'. Since the words before 'in the Mendocino country' are written in three lines in the left margin, it is possible that the latter part of the line was a subsequent addition.

12 the surge] originally, 'the hoarse base of the surge'. First 'low' was interlined above a caret before 'hoarse', then deleted, and the rest deleted, probably independently.

12 base &] interlined above a caret.

12 accompaniment, hoarse,] after 'accompaniment' was interlined above a caret, 'hoarse, & low,—', the '& low' being then deleted. On the line after 'accompaniment', and very likely part of the original line, is pencil-deleted 'in the Mendocino country,'.

13 crackling] interlined above deleted 'sounding'. Following the interlineation is a deleted broken-off word beginning *mus*. In the original line after 'With' is deleted in blue crayon the word 'the'. Another 'the' before 'axes' is also deleted in crayon.

13 sounding . . . woods,] a later addition above a caret. Before 'musically' is deleted 'loud &'. One *ly* of 'musically' is an addition.

14 —there . . . dense] an addition crowded in. A preceding question mark has been deleted. '—there' is interlined above a caret, and 'in' written above deleted 'out'. Before 'redwood' is deleted 'midst of the'. To the right, written in pencil and deleted in ink are two words which seem to read 'alread tolling', the second word being very uncertain.

[leaf 3. slightly tinted wove paper (4½ x 6⅞), pin holes in center. The verso contains the concluding portion, deleted in blue crayon, of the letter on the verso of #8 of the first draft.]

The choppers haply heard not—the | camp-shanties echoed not,
The quick-ear'd teamsters and chain & | jackscrew men heard not.
As the wood-spirits came from their haunts of a thousand | years & join'd the refrain of the tree,
But in my soul I plainly heard,
Murmuring out of its myriad leaves
Down from its lofty top, rising over a hundred | feet high
Out from its stalwart trunk & limbs—out | of its foot-thick bark
That voice as of seasons and time—voice not of | the past only, but the future.

16 The choppers haply] originally, 'The teamsters, choppers,', the last two words individually crossed through and 'lumbermen' written above. After 'The'

above the line appear in pencil first, 'rugged' deleted in pencil, and above this 'sinewy', deleted with the same ink stroke as that which then excised 'lumbermen'. Above this last was written 'choppers haply'.

16 camp-] interlined above a caret. A caret after 'shanties' points to the deleted interlineation 'in the camp', which thus precedes the prefixing of 'camp-'.

17 jackscrew men] below this line is the deleted broken-off new verse, 'As to the refrain the', crowded in.

18 As the wood-spirits . . . the tree,] this verse was originally written below 'But I heard', and then marked for its present position by a guide line. 'of the tree,' is a pencil addition.

19 But . . . heard,] originally, 'But I heard,'. 'in my soul' is interlined in pencil before 'I' and brought down to an ink caret by an ink guide line which cuts through and inadvertently deletes original 'I'. Above a pencil caret after this 'I' is, presumably at a later time, interlined in pencil 'I plainly', the 'plainly' being written after deleted 'clearly'.

20 its] interlined in pencil above deleted 'the'.

21 rising over a] 'over' is interlined in ink after deleted 'nearly'. Later, in pencil, 'rising' is prefixed and 'a' is interlined above deleted 'two'.

22 stalwart] interlined in pencil above deleted 'mighty' which had followed after currently deleted 'tru'.

23 That voice] 'A voice' was interlined in pencil above deleted 'Sounds', and then 'That' substituted for 'A'.

23 time—voice] 'time' interlined in ink above deleted 'centuries', and 'voice' in pencil above deleted 'sounds'.

23 the future] 'the' interlined in pencil.

[leaf 4. Three pieces of the soft laid handmade paper held together by pasted strips on the back containing some handwriting. The overall measurement is 8¼ x 5⅛, the pieces, from top to bottom, measuring respectively 4, 2⅛, and 2¼. The cutting, as well as the truncation of some letters, makes it clear that these three pieces represent only one cut-apart leaf, and that the cutting was to rearrange the order of lines by interchanging the bottom part of the leaf with its immediate predecessor. In other words, the lines in original order of writing down would be represented by the order of pieces 1, 3, 2. The section number '3' is in blue crayon. In the top left corner, separated by a slanting line, is the pencil notation 'ital'; and all the lines are underscored in pencil, except ll. 8-10, 'I too . . . earth.)' in ink.]

[piece 1]

3

You untold life of me,

And all you venerable and | innocent joys,

Perennial, hardy life of me, with joys mid rain | & many a summer sun,

And the white snows, & night, | & the wild winds,

O the great patient rugged | joys! my soul's strong joys, un-|reck'd by man!

[piece 2]

(For Know I bear the soul be-|fitting me.)—I too have | consciousness, identity)

And all the rocks & | mountains have—and all | the earth.)

[piece 3]
Joys of enduring—the free air—joys through | centuries, joys
of the life befitting me, & brothers mine
Our time, our term has come

24 *untold*] interlined in pencil.

26 *of me, with joys,*] interlined in ink above a caret which has been drawn over a comma after 'life'. Above 'life' is written in ink the alternate 'joys', deleted in pencil.

28 *my soul's*] interlined above a caret in blue crayon.

28 *reck'd by*] interlined in ink above deleted 'known to'.

29 *For*] interlined in pencil.

29 *bear the*] interlined in ink above deleted 'too have a'.

29 *—I too ... identity*)] the closing parenthesis after 'me.' is written in pencil, following which a pencil dash appears and the addition 'I ... identity)' in pencil except that 'have' was interlined in ink above deleted 'bear', following which at the start of the next line 'my own' was written in ink above a caret before 'consciousness' but then ink-deleted.

31 *enduring—the free air—*] 'enduring' is written over 'endurance' by mending the letters. 'the free air—, an interlineation above a caret placed after 'enduring' and before the dash, was originally 'all in the free air—', the first two words being deleted. When this excision was made the position of the caret by inadvertence was not altered to follow the dash but is corrected in the transcript here.

31 *centuries*] preceding 'the' has been deleted in pencil.

31 *joys of the life ... brother mine*] 'joys of the life befitting me' is written in pencil below the line, starting under 'centuries'. On the line and directly after 'centuries' is pencil 'centuries,' deleted in blue crayon and 'ages' interlined, this last deleted by an ink stroke. Crowded in the right margin is '& | brothers | mine' written in pencil. 'my' is deleted above 'mine', and below 'mine' is deleted 'brethern'.

32 has come] a caret after 'has' points to 'now' interlined in ink but then deleted. At the foot of the third piece, deleted in pencil is the following verse, '(For know I too bear con-|sciousness, identity', in which 'bear' is interlined in ink above deleted 'have', and the opening parenthesis is in pencil.

[leaf 5, formed by pasting a piece of ruled white wove paper ($7\frac{3}{8}$ x 5) on the foot of a piece of ruled white laid paper ($4\frac{1}{16}$ x $5\frac{15}{16}$), this last piece with a blue-ruled left margin. The top of the upper piece is torn and crumpled, and part of the text has been affected. The lower piece has two different sets of pin holes slightly above center and then near its top, corresponding roughly to the center of the patched-together leaf. No pin holes are present in the upper piece.]

[upper piece]
No⟨ ⟩ld we mournfully, majestic brothers,
We who have grandly fill'd our time,
With Natures calm content | and tacit huge delight,
We welcome what we wrought for | through the past
And leave the fitting field for them.
[lower piece]

For them predicted long—to a superber race of men—
They too grandly fill their time,
For them we abdicate,—in them ourselves | ye forest Kings | —
in these skies & airs,
These mountain peaks | —Shasta—Nevadas,
These huge, precipitous cliffs—this amplitude—These valleys grand—Yosemite | —all to be in them | absorbed, assimilated, dedicate.

33 *ld we*] interlined above a caret. Originally the addition was 'ld I', but then the 'I' was deleted in ink and 'we' placed after it. This was deleted in pencil but then restored in ink. Deleted 'brothers', apparently written over some pencil word, follows the final 'we'.

33 *majestic brothers,*] originally Whitman started 'the', then deleted it and interlined 'now,', which was deleted, before continuing with 'my bretheren'. This last was finally crossed through and 'majestic brothers' substituted below the line.

34 *We who ... time,*] this was later written between the two deleted false starts, 'I hear the hum of a' and 'I know'.

35 *calm ... delight,*] originally, 'smile and | delight and', which was deleted and 'and tacit huge delight,' added, 'tacit' (final *t* mended over *d*) being interlined above a caret. 'calm content' was interlined in pencil, a preceding pencil 'and' being deleted in ink.

36 *We*] originally 'I', which was deleted in ink and 'We' interlined, this being deleted in pencil and 'I' restored above a caret before it too was ink-deleted and 'We' crowded in.

36 *what we*] this was the original reading, independently deleted and 'those' interlined above 'what' and 'was' above 'we', before these too were excised and the originals restored.

36 *through the past*] preceding 'quiel-ty' [*sic*] was deleted in pencil, and 'steadily' interlined only to be crossed through in blue crayon. 'the past' is interlined in pencil above deleted 'time'.

37 *fitting*] interlined above a caret.

37 *for them*] after 'field' the original read 'prepared.', and then 'for them.' was appended. Both were separately crossed through. In the line below, in pencil, was written 'for them to come', the 'for' being written over 'to'. Then 'for them' and 'to come' were separately excised at different times, and finally 'for them' interlined in ink above the original on the line above.

38 *For them predicted long—*] the original line began, 'To greater than Nature,', which was deleted and in a different ink was interlined (after the two pieces of paper had been pasted together), 'for them predicted long—', beneath which but not necessarily written at the same time is found interlined deleted 'a long-promised race of men— | far superber'. In this 'of men—' was interlined above a caret and remained undeleted, and 'far' written over 'the'. Following on this deletion, 'to a superber race' was crowded in. Below this verse are three deleted heavily revised verses. The first reads, 'To the greatest— to a new | race long promised—to perfect | men & women'. In this 'new' is deleted in ink, as is 'race'. Following the dash after 'race' is a caret pointing to the interlineation 'coming', which has been excised and 'long promised—' interlined in ink, itself deleted in ink. Following the dash and before 'to' was the currently deleted word 'the'. The rest of the verse has been crossed out in pencil. The next verse read, 'To them to come, Larger of body & soul, loving | the mountains & the sea,'. This is all crossed out in ink. 'To them to come'

was an interlineation above a caret, the 'them' being written in pencil above deleted 'you'. Following this is the false start on another verse, 'To you', above which is 'who' and after it interlined 'too' followed by 'shall', deleted, and last by undeleted 'to'. Underneath 'too' is 'shall' and 'also', separately deleted.

39 *They*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'You'.

39 *grandly*] interlined in pencil above a caret after ink-deleted 'to'.

39 *their*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'your'. After 'time' a period seems to have been excised and a comma added, followed by '& | fill it grandly;', which has been crossed out.

40 *—in them ourselves*] added in pencil. The preceding 'For them we abdicate' in ink seems crowded in as a revision.

40 *ye forest Kings—in these skies & airs,*] the line originally began as a new verse, 'In you these forests,'. 'you' was deleted and 'them' interlined in pencil; then this and preceding 'In' were deleted in pencil. 'ye' is interlined in ink above deleted 'these'. The final *s* of 'forests' and the comma were crossed out and 'trees majestic' interlined, this being deleted in favor of 'Kings'. After original 'forests,' the next line originally read, 'mountains—these skies & airs,', in which '—these ... airs,' was interlined. This was all ink-deleted and '—in these skies and airs' written below it, an interlined 'them' above a caret after 'in' being deleted.

41 *mountain*] before this is deleted 'mighty'.

41 *Nevadas*] this original reading was deleted, but then the deleting pen strokes were smudged out to restore the reading.

42 *These ... amplitude—*] an interlineation above a caret. 'huge, precipitous' are independently interlined above deleted 'towering'.

42 *all to be in them*] originally, '—all these to be in | man of you, his soul'. 'all' was interlined above deleted 'these' but then deleted in pencil. 'to be' is interlined above the original deleted 'to be'. 'souls' was interlined above deleted 'man' but then excised. 'of you' and 'his soul' were separately crossed through.

42 Absorbed] above this is the deleted false start, 'To be'.

42 dedicate.] the period is uncertain, and may represent a comma, especially since the verse was originally continued in the line below with '—greatly personified.', in which 'greatly' was deleted and '—fully' interlined before the whole line was crossed out.

[leaf 6. A paste-together (10⅝ vertical) consisting of an upper piece of the soft handmade laid paper (3 $\frac{13}{16}$ x 5⅛) to which is attached a lower piece of white ruled wove paper (7¾ x 4 $\frac{13}{16}$) containing on its back the lithographed letterhead in script, 'Department of Justice | Washington ..... 187 '. Below this heading Whitman wrote in blue crayon, 'Dr Smith | Hydropathic Institute | *Wernersville*, Berks [*a question mark above this last*] | go through Reading | about 7 or 9 miles | from Reading'. In the lower left corner beneath a short horizontal line, '13th & Callowhill | depot'. The lower piece has a cluster of pin holes in its top center, corresponding roughly to the upper center of the whole piece. In the upper left margin of the lower piece is the pencil note '*ital*'. The lines on this lower piece are underscored in pencil. The writing throughout is in a blackish ink.]

[upper piece]

4

Then to a loftier strain
Still prouder, more extatic rose | the chant,

As if the prophetic heirs, the | Deities of the west
Joining With master-tongue | bore part,
[lower piece]
Not wan from Asias fetishes
Nor red from Europe's old dynastic | slaughter-house,
(That long long track of | murder-plots | of Kings, thick of their gory wars & the scaffold
But come from | Nature's long & innocent throes | peacefully builded thense
These teeming | lands,—lands of the Western shore
To the New Culminating Man—to you, | the Empire New,
You, promised long, we, | pledge, we dedicate.

43 Then to a loftier strain] originally 'still to a higher strain'. Above deleted 'still' was written 'Now' (deleted in pencil), and above this 'Then' and 'Still', both deleted in ink. 'Then' was finally prefixed in pencil, 'higher' was deleted and above a caret was interlined 'purer', this being deleted and 'more extatic' interlined. When this was deleted, 'loftier strain' was placed above the whole.

44 Still] originally 'Yet', which was deleted in favor of 'Then', deleted in pencil and 'Still' interlined. This last was deleted in ink and 'Still' interlined above a caret before 'prouder'.

44 more extatic] interlined above deleted 'loftier', the second *t* being mended over a *c*.

44 chant,] originally followed by 'departing', which was deleted in favor of 'ere ceasing,', this last then being crossed out.

45 heirs, the] interlined above deleted 'genius' (?).

45 Deities] originally 'deity'. The final *y* is crossed out and *ies* added in ink above a caret. Initial *d* is capitalized to *D* in pencil.

46 Joining] interlined above a caret.

46 tongue] follows deleted 'voice'.

47 *Not wan from*] originally, 'Not out of'. The *t* of 'Not' was deleted and *r* interlined, to be deleted in turn and *t* written over it. 'out of' was deleted and 'stain'd from' interlined, 'stain'd' being deleted and 'risen', with 'from' added slightly above, substituted. When this was crossed out, 'pale from' was tried; 'pale' was then deleted, and above everything (on the upper piece) was written 'wan'.

47 *Asias*] an alternate, the letter 'n' written above the final *s*, may obscure an apostrophe.

47 *fetishes*] crowded in after this is deleted 'advanced'.

48 *Nor red ... slaughter-house,*] originally, 'Not out of human history | that slaughter-house,'. The final *t* of 'Not' is deleted and *r* interlined. Above deleted 'out of' was written 'risen from', this being deleted and 'red from' interlined. 'Europe's' was interlined above deleted 'human'; and 'old dynastic', at a different time, above deleted 'history'. In the next line 'that' was deleted in ink and a following interlineation above a caret, 'general', deleted in pencil.

49 *plots*] written after currently deleted 'craft'; following this, original 'and | wars' has been crossed out.

49 *thick ... scaffold*] the verse originally continued, 'of Kings, and | lordly theft & violence'. The 'and' after 'Kings' was deleted and above a caret was interlined 'thick of wars', with 'and' prefixed before 'lordly' in the line below. Then 'wars' seems to have been crossed out and 'wars & the scaffold' written

after it, with 'gory' prefixed above a caret. In pencil 'their' was crowded in over the originally interlined 'wars' before 'gory', and a closing parenthesis placed after 'violence'. Finally, the last line, 'and lordly ... violence)' was deleted in ink.

50 *But come from*] originally, 'But risen, builded out of', the two parts separately crossed out, except for 'But'. Above was interlined 'come through', 'come' then being deleted and 'slowly built all' interlined. Finally, all the interlineation was deleted and 'come from' substituted.

50 *long & innocent*] 'long &' was interlined in pencil and brought down to an ink caret by an ink guide line. 'innocent' was interlined in ink above deleted 'peaceful'.

51 *These ... shore*] the original verse read, 'This vaster, brighter, teeming | land,'. 'vaster, brighter' was crossed out in ink. In pencil 'This' was mended to 'These', the final *s* added to 'land', and the continuation added.

52 *Culminating*] interlined above a caret in pencil.

52 *the Empire*] above deleted original 'the' and a pencil caret is found in ink, 'an', deleted in pencil, 'an' in pencil deleted in ink, and finally, to the left, 'the'. Above 'Empire New' in pencil, and deleted in pencil, was written 'a peaceful active'.

53 *long, we*] after 'long,' is interlined above a caret 'before we go', then deleted. Before 'dedicate' the original 'leaving,' has been crossed out and 'pledge, we' interlined.

[leaf 7, the right corner torn off and only a small part of the bottom of the crayon figure preserved. A large leaf of white ruled wove paper (10 x 7¾), a cluster of pin holes somewhat to the left of center. An original title, '*You occult, deathless, deep volitions*', has been crossed out, suggesting that this section was originally an independent poem. In the top left margin is the pencil note '*ital*'; the lines, written in black ink, have been underscored in pencil.]

You occult, deep volitions
You average Spiritual Manhood purpose of all developement, permanent in | every land & age, pois'd on yourself— | giving, not taking law,
You Womanhood divine, mistress & source of all. whence | life and love, and aught that comes from | life and love;
You unseen Moral Essence of all the | vast materials of America, (age upon age, working | in Death the same as Life;)
You that, (sometimes known, oftener unknown,) | really shape & mould the New World, |adjusting it to Time and Space;
You hidden National Will, lying in your abysms, concealed, yet ever alert,
You past and present purposes, tenaciously | pursued, may-be unconscious of yourselves,
Unswerv'd by all the passing errors, perturbations | of the surface,
You vital, universal germs, beneath | all arts, creeds, statutes, literatures,

Here build your homes for good—Establish here—These areas entire, Lands of the western shore
We dedicate we pledge to you!

54 *occult,*] after this is deleted 'deathless,' both in the first line and in the original title. This suggests (if it were not currently made) that some part of the revision was accomplished before the inclusion of the poem in the series.

55 *average Spiritual*] interlined above a caret.

55 *purpose of all developement,*] interlined above a caret after deleted original 'of my race,', in which 'my' had earlier been deleted and 'the' interlined in pencil.

56 *mistress & source of all.*] interlined above a caret. The period, though wrong, is definite. After 'whence' is deleted original 'only'.

56 *aught*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'all'. Below this verse is the crossed-out verse, 'You hidden National Will, lying in your | abysms, concealed, but ever alert,'.

57 *Moral*] interlined above deleted 'Spiritual'.

57 *age upon age,*] interlined in pencil above 'working' without indication of position.

58 *adjusting*] interlined above deleted 'proportioning'.

59 *You hidden . . . alert,*] crowded in later. After 'lying' is deleted 'concealed', and after 'abysms' is 'concealed' interlined above a caret.

61 *. . . of the surface,*] below this verse is the pencil-deleted verse, 'To you in those abysms, (returning it from | whence it came,)'.

62 *vital,*] before this is deleted original 'mighty,'.

62 *beneath*] interlined above deleted 'beyond'.

62 *. . . literatures,*] below this line is the pencil-deleted verse, 'I dedicate entire, these lands my verse,', in which 'entire' was interlined above a caret, and 'these lands' added after it in pencil. In the margin, to the left, was written, and then deleted, in pencil, 'To you before I | further go,'.

63 *Here . . . here—*] interlined in ink above a caret. The remaining part of the verse, originally the beginning, was written in pencil as an addition to the poem.

64 *we pledge*] 'we' is written above 'dedicate' in pencil, and 'pledge' follows it in ink above a pencil caret.

[leaf 8. Piece of white ruled wove paper (8$\frac{1}{16}$ x 6¼) with blue-ruled margin. Several pin holes in the center. Written in blackish ink. At the foot, in blue crayon, is written, 'Idaho, Utah'. The lines are underscored in ink.]

65 *For you, for man of you your characteristic race, | Pacific lands! broad lands!*
Here may he, hardy, sweet, gigantic, | grow—here tower, strike deep proportionate to Nature.
Here climb the vast, pure spaces, unconfined, | uncheck'd by wall or roof!
Here laugh, accepting storm or sun—here | joy—here patiently inure!
Here heed himself, unfold himself, (not | others' formulas heed;) here fill his time!

70 *To duly fall, to aid, unreck'd, un-| known at last!*
To disappear, to serve.

Idaho, Utah

65 *For*] interlined above deleted 'So for a type, for'.

65 *for man of you*] interlined with a guide line above a caret.

65 *characteristic*] interlined above a caret.

65 *broad lands!*] above a caret before 'broad' is deleted 'all the', followed by undeleted 'o'er the', with 'in' written above this last in a lighter ink. This appears to be part of a revision which also concerns three deleted verses which appear immediately beneath, with a brace and question mark in the left margin. The first of these excised verses was crowded in later, and reads, 'Like seeds borne by the winds, scattered and dropt,'. Apparently when 'Like' was crossed out Whitman attempted to join this verse to the one above by the additions already mentioned above 'broad lands!' and also by adding a dash after 'lands!' and 'in', so that the reading would be 'in broad lands!—in | seeds borne'. . . . After 'scattered', the words 'and dropt' appear to be an addition. Written over the top of the loop of *d* of 'dropt' but with no indication of position is 'all'. Below 'and dropt' was added 'a thousand miles', but 'from' has been written over the early letters of 'thousand'. Possibly this addition and revision involving 'miles' is intended not for the line indicated but instead for the deleted verse below, which reads, 'Where the sea-air sweeps | from the Coast range to the Wahsatch | or the Nevadas! or up to Fremont's peak'. After 'sweeps' is deleted 'oer', and it is just possible that the phrase 'a thousand miles' was intended for this place. However, 'from' (partly written over 'thousand') appears to be the substitute for 'oer'; and the rest of the material is almost centainly associated with the verse above, reading 'scattered and all dropt, a thousand miles'. In the verse beginning 'Where the sea-air . . .', 'air' was written below deleted 'winds' after 'breezes' had been interlined above and deleted. Before 'Nevadas' was interlined 'the', and above a caret after 'Nevadas' interlined 'far', both interlineations deleted. The remaining part of the verse, 'or up to Fremont's peak', is an addition made after the text of the poem had been underscored. The final deleted verse reads, 'Where to the north, the Columbia flows or the | Willamette flows! So for the | man for you!'. In this, 'to the north,' is written above the line and brought down to a caret by a guide line in a different ink. It seems very likely that at first 'to the north,' concluded the verse above by following on 'peak'. The two occurrences of 'flows' are interlined above original 'winds'. After 'So' was interlined above a caret 'for all,' but then deleted. Before 'man' was interlined above a caret 'general', also deleted. These excised verses were marked out by a diagonal stroke in ink and one in pencil.

66 *Here*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'So'.

66 *sweet*] interlined above deleted 'innocent'.

66 *here . . . Nature.*] originally, '—so tower,—so fill his time!'. 'here' is interlined in pencil above deleted 'so'. Above a caret after 'tower,' seems to have been written first 'at last proportionate to Nature!', but this was crossed out perhaps at the same time as '—so fill his time.' Then above the caret was crowded in, 'strike deep', which went undeleted. 'proportionate to Nature.' was written beneath deleted 'so fill his time!'.

67 *Here*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'So'.

68 *Here . . . here . . . here*] in each

case interlined in pencil above deleted 'So' and 'so'.

68 *inure*] above this is an illegible deleted alternate, which seems to begin *proo* or *prov*, but the final letter cannot be determined although it does not seem to resemble an *e*. There is some very slight possibility the word is 'wait', however.

69 *Here*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'So'.

69 *here*] the original 'so' was deleted and 'to' interlined in pencil, this being crossed out in ink and 'here' substituted.

70 *To*] interlined in pencil above deleted 'So', and beneath the same interlining deleted in pencil.

71 To] interlined in pencil above deleted 'So' and written over the same pencil word deleted.

[leaf 9, piece of white ruled wove paper with blue margin lines (8 1/8 x 6 1/4), a few pin holes in the center. Written in blackish ink.]

5

Thus on the northern coast,
In the echo of teamsters' calls, and clinking | chains, & the music of choppers' axes,
The falling trunk & limbs, the crash, the muffled | shriek, the groan,
In the lumbermen's camp, inhaling the forest perfume
Such words from the redwood tree, | (as of wood-spirits' voices pro-|phetic, ancient & rustling,
Or of century-lasting, unseen dryads, | now withdrawing,
All their recesses of forests, mountains, valleys, | leaving,
Or the Cascade range to the Wasatch— | —or Idaho far or Utah
To the deities of the west, the modern, | henceforth yielding,)
The chorus & indications, the vistas of coming humanity the features & settlements
In the Mendocino woods, I caught.

72 ... coast,] beneath this line is the verse deleted in pencil, 'In the lumbermen's camp, inhaling | the forest perfume,'.

73 In the echo of] 'In' interlined in pencil above deleted 'To', and 'echo' in pencil above an ink caret after 'the' as a revision of the original interlineation 'noise of the', both 'noise' and 'the' being deleted in pencil.

73 clinking] preceding 'the' is deleted in pencil.

73 chains, &] '&' interlined in pencil.

74 trunk & limbs] interlined above deleted 'tree'; the comma is the original after 'tree'.

75 In the lumbermen's ...] this verse crowded in in pencil.

76 tree,] interlined above deleted 'branches,'.

78-79 All their ... Utah] these two verses were crowded in at the head of the leaf, asterisked in the left margin, and brought down by a guide line to their present position in the text marked by an asterisk. 'All' was interlined in pencil above deleted 'All'; 'their' was mended in pencil from 'the'. After 'forests,' an 'and' has been deleted. 'valleys,' is interlined above deleted 'rivers,'. In the next verse 'the Cascade range to' is interlined in ink above deleted 'Puget

sound to Southern Colorado—', and 'the Wasatch' was added in pencil after this interlineation. 'leaving' (followed by deleted 'for good') was interlined above excised '—or Wahsatch to the | sea'. Before 'Idaho' a 'far to' interlined above a caret has been crossed out in pencil and 'far' interlined in pencil above a caret after 'Idaho'. This whole addition was written after the blue-crayon number '5' had been given the section, since the writing almost obscures the number.

81 The chorus ... settlements] crowded in later between the lines.

82 woods] written after 'count' [*query* country] was started, broken off, and excised.

[foot of leaf, deleted lines]
The chorus and indications, the vistas
All of coming humanity
Or Puget Sound to Southern Colorado,—or | Wahsatch to the sea—or Idaho & Utah

1 chorus] written above a blank space in the line, and therefore to fill a gap left originally. The interlineation in the line below prevented a lined-up insertion.

2 All] interlined above deleted 'Gather'.

2 coming] *c* mended over some other letter, perhaps a *v*.

2 humanity] interlined above deleted 'man'.

3 Or] interlined above deleted 'From'. The 'or' in 'or Wahsatch' is a similar revision, as is 'or' before 'Idaho'.

[leaf 10. White unruled laid paper (8 5/16 x 7¾), a few pin holes in the center and a set at the head. The section number '6' is written in blue crayon after the crayon-deleted pencil number '2'. To the left of center at the very foot of the leaf is the note '? Yosemite)'.]

6

The flashing & golden pageant of California,
The sudden and gorgeous drama—the sunny & | and ample land,—
The long and varied stretch from | Puget sound southern Colorado,
Land bathed in sweeter, rarer, healthier air! Valleys & mountain cliffs, Yosemite
The fields of Nature, long prepared & fallow,—the silent cyclic chemistry
The slow & steady ages, plodding—the unoccu-|pied surface ripening—the rich ores | forming beneath
At last the New arriving, assuming, taking | possession.
The swarming & busy races settling & organizing everywhere,
Ships coming in from the whole round world, & going out to the whole world,
To India and China, and | Australia, and the | thousand island paradises | of the | Pacific

Populous cities with latest inventions | —the steamers on the rivers
—the railroads—and many a thrifty farm, and machinery,
And wool & wheat & the grape—& diggings of yellow gold.

84 drama] interlined in lighter ink above deleted 'pageant'.

84 sunny] interlined in lighter ink above deleted 'broad'.

84 ample land,—] following is deleted 'the mountains & rivers,', probably an addition.

85 The long . . . Colorado,] originally, 'Wide-mouth'd Columbia to the north, & | southern Colorado,'. Above the deleted first line was interlined 'The long and varied stretch from the Cascade', continued by interlining in the line below, as 'range to'. This final 'to' was crossed out and 'or Puget sound from the north, to' added. Then 'the Cascade | range or' was deleted, and also 'sound from the north, to', and 'sound' was crowded in below 'Puget' in a different pen. By inadvertence the necessary 'to' before 'southern' was not restored.

86 bathed in sweeter, rarer,] interlined above deleted 'of the towering'. 'bathed in' seems to have been written at a different time, probably later, and 'in' is interlined above deleted 'a' before 'sweeter'.

86 Valleys . . . Yosemite] crowded in the right margin in pencil, after the ink-deletion of 'land of | a myriad mountain peaks!', which had completed the verse after 'air!'. The next verse was originally, 'Broad-stretching land—from Wasatch to the sea! | —Mount Shasta—the Nevadas;'. Before 'Mount Shasta' was later written '—Yosemite—', and then later the line was made into the start of a new verse by prefixing 'The Willamette'. In the process of revision 'reaching' was interlined above deleted 'stretching', and then 'Broad-stretching land—' and below, 'The Willamette' were deleted. A guide line then was drawn to connect 'air!' with 'from Wasatch . . .'. Finally, all the verse between 'from Wasatch' through 'the Nevadas;' was crossed out in pencil and the marginal addition 'Valleys & mountain cliffs, Yosemite' was added in the margin.

87 the silent cyclic chemistry] an addition, interlined above a caret with guide line. 'silent' is inserted in ink above a caret, and 'cyclic' in pencil above deleted 'wondrous'.

89 the New] 'busy' was interlined above a caret before 'New' but then deleted. Below this verse is the deleted broken-off verse, 'The Old, with all its fables'.

90 The] interlined above deleted 'A'.

90 everywhere,] interlined above a caret. The phrase '& organizing everywhere' seems to have been an addition.

91 Ships . . . world,] an addition, crowded in between the lines. 'in' is interlined above a caret. 'the whole round world' interlined above a caret after 'the', the word 'all' having been deleted after 'from'. In this interlineation, 'world' repeats undeleted 'world' in the original line. 'out' is an interlineation above a caret, 'all' following 'to' is deleted, and 'whole' is added above a caret.

92 To India . . . Pacific] this added line was first crowded in a blank space in the right margin following 'taking possession' in line 10 above, and brought down to its proper position by a guide line and asterisks.

93 latest] interlined above deleted 'all the modern', the words 'all the' being separately crossed out, perhaps earlier.

94 —the steamers . . . railroads—] after 'inventions' the next line originally continued '& many a farm, with', whereupon Whitman seems to have stopped, deleted 'with', and gone back to insert '—the [*interlined above deleted* '&'] steamers . . . railroads—'. 'thrifty' is an insertion above a caret. 'and machinery' seems to have added in a lighter ink, above 'with', which had been deleted in the text ink.

[leaf 11. Three pasted-together pieces (8⅞ vertically), as follows. Top: ruled white wove paper (2⅝ x 7 1/16) containing on its verso the left margin of a letter in another hand. Middle: ruled white wove paper (3⅛ x 7¾). Foot: ruled white wove paper (3⅞ x 8 1/16). This lowest piece is pasted to the middle but is also held in place by a strip on the back (2 1/16 x 7⅞) containing deleted lines on its concealed recto, and on its verso the right, or continuing margin, of the letter used as the top piece. The version of the lines on the recto of this slip, therefore, precede those on the recto of the upper piece. The whole is written in black ink and has a cluster of pin holes in the center, all made after the complete pasting-together. What is now the top piece also has one set in its center upper margin. To the right of the blue-crayon section-number '7' is the ink number '33', with a touch of blue crayon across the top of the second digit.]

[upper piece]

7

But more in you, than these, I see, lands of the western shore!
(These but the means the implements, the standing-ground,)
I see in you certain to come the promise | of thousands of years, till now deferred,
Promised and yet deferred, our common kind, the race
[middle piece]
The New Society—at last | proportionate to Nature
In man of you, more than your mountain peaks, | or stalwart trees imperial
In woman more, far more, than | gold, or vines, or even vital air,
[lower piece]
Fresh come, to a New world indeed
I see The Genius of the Modern, child of the Real & Ideal
Clearing the ground For healthy broad full grown humanity, the true America, heir of the mighty Past,
To build a mightier Future.

95 But] interlined above deleted 'Yet'. Above 'But' is interlined deleted 'These'.

95 than these, I see,] interlined and brought down to a caret by a guide line which curls before the deleted 'far more' later prefixed to 'than'.

95 shore!] following this is deleted 'these'. Crowded in, in the line below, is the deleted additional verse, 'Far more than wool or wheat, or than cities, ships'. In this, the *l* of 'wool' is mended over some other letter, possibly a *d*; and the 'or' after 'wheat' is written over what may be '&'.

96 (These] 'These' interlined above deleted 'These'.

96 means] interlined in pencil above deleted 'types'.

97 certain to come the promise] interlined in pencil. The original read, 'the hopes & chances promised | long for common man, the race,'. First, 'hopes &' was deleted, and, in the line below, 'our' was interlined above deleted 'for', and 'kind,' above deleted 'man,'. Then 'hopes,' was restored by interlineation, and 'the' written after it; but then by later revision 'the hopes, the chances' was deleted and 'what was' was inter-

lined above excised 'chances'. Consequentially, the whole line below was crossed out, from 'long' through 'race'. Finally, 'what was promised' was deleted in pencil, and 'certain to come' interlined starting above 'you' (*c* of 'certain' mended over *s*), followed by the interlineation of 'the promise' above deleted 'promised'.

97 of thousands] the start of a new verse, 'Promised a' was altered to run on the previous verse by deleting 'Promised'. Later, it would seem, 'a' was also deleted in ink, and still later 'of' was interlined above it in pencil.

97 till now] originally placed, with a concluding comma, after 'deferred', but deleted and interlined above original 'and still,' before 'deferred', the comma after 'still' being crossed through, possibly to form a caret. Before interlined 'till' was prefixed 'yet'. Finally, 'yet' and original 'and still' were crossed out in pencil. Above original 'till now' at the end of the line are some deleted illegible letters or signs which were probably markings already present on the paper before Whitman came to write these lines.

98 and yet deferred,] the precise position of these words is doubtful. After 'Promised' is a caret and interlined 'yet' squeezed in before 'our', obviously later than the inscribing of 'and still deferred,' which is crowded in immediately above 'yet', the 'still' then being deleted. There is some possibility that this 'and still deferred' was intended to continue and conclude the verse above, but on the whole it is more likely to be part of the interlineation after 'Promised', since 'yet' is apparently the substitute for deleted 'still'.

99 The New Society] concealed by the overlap of the upper paste-on above, and centered at the head of this middle piece of paper, is undeleted 'In those indicated', as if it were a title. This is followed by the false start of a verse 'In the', in which 'the' has been deleted. In the exposed part of the paper, before 'The New' was prefixed the addition 'At last' above a caret, but this was later deleted in pencil and 'at last' interlined in pencil after 'Society—'. Following 'Society—' the verse had originally continued, 'a prouder breed than history | knows,' which seems at a later time to have had added, 'fully proportionate to Nature'. In this, 'fully' was deleted and 'at last' interlined; at a later time 'at last' was deleted and 'fully' restored. The words 'a prouder . . . knows,' were deleted in ink, and interlined 'fully' deleted in pencil.

100 of you,] interlined above a caret with a finer pen. Preceding 'man' was deleted and 'men' interlined, this then being deleted and 'man' restored below the original.

100 or stalwart trees imperial] originally, 'or skies, or trees—'. This was deleted, and 'or stalwart, imperial trees,' interlined; later, 'trees' was deleted and interlined above the crossed-out comma after 'stalwart'.

101 woman] an interlined alternate, *e* inscribed above *a* of 'woman', has been deleted.

101 far more,] interlined above a caret.

101 than gold,] originally, 'than your healthy air, | your gold,'. First '& vital' was interlined between 'healthy' and 'air,', but then deleted along with 'your healthy air, your'.

101 or vines , . . . air,] this concluding part of the verse is an addition. The 'or' before 'vines' is interlined above deleted 'your'. Before 'vital' was interlined 'even' above a caret, followed by pencil 'your', which has been deleted in ink. What appears to be a deleted caret or comma is found after 'vital', the intent being obscure.

102 to a New World indeed] originally, 'as to a new and virgin world,'. The order of revision is not quite certain. It would seem that 'as' was deleted, and also 'new and'. Above this last was interlined 'competent, varied,'. Later, 'world indeed' seems to have been interlined above deleted 'virgin

world,', and subsequently 'a New' prefixed by interlining. At some time, 'exhaustless' was added after 'indeed', but then deleted. Next, in a lighter ink, 'a' after 'to' was deleted and 'an ample' interlined above a caret after interlined 'competent', the caret written over the original comma. Finally, 'competent an ample varied,' was crossed out. In the upper right corner of the paper, placed above the end of the original line, are the deleted pencil words 'bright' (?) and 'full,'. Crowded in below, and perhaps written at the same time, is undeleted pencil 'ample | World', with 'varied,' prefixed to 'ample' at a later time. These seem to be jottings preliminary to the ink interlineations of substantially the same material.

103 I see The Genius ... Ideal] this verse is interlined above the deleted original, 'Child of the Real & Ideal, the Genius of the Modern'. In the revision, 'I see' was prefixed at a later time.

104 Clearing the ground For ... Future.] the lines on this piece of paper had originally concluded with the verse 'Preparing for a great Future.', which followed original 'Child of the Real ... Modern.' In the original last verse, 'Founding' was interlined above deleted 'Preparing', and later 'for a' was excised in pencil, the 'a' then being restored but again deleted, this time in ink. The whole verse was then crossed through. All the remaining material is a later addition and revision. Originally, the added verses read, 'For common humanity, or heir of the past, | [*new verse*] Founding a grander Future.' In these, 'broad' was first interlined above deleted 'common'; and 'or' after 'humanity' was excised, with 'the real America,' interlined, 'true' then being interlined above deleted 'real'. Farther on, 'past' was mended to 'Past', and 'mighty' prefixed above a caret. After 'Past' was added 'so grand,' perhaps consequent upon the alteration in the verse below of 'grander' to interlined 'mightier', but then 'so grand,' was deleted. Subsequently, 'Clearing the ground' was prefixed above a caret to 'For', and 'healthy' was crowded in before 'broad'. In the final verse, 'Building' was substituted for deleted 'Founding', but then excised in favor of 'To build'. The only real problem is the position of 'full grown', which appears between the lines in pencil after 'broad'. It is possible that 'full grown' was written below the line of the verse above consequent upon the pencil deletion of 'for', and this hypothesis would explain the difficulty of associating pencil-added words in a verse apparently written after the revision in pencil of preceding verses had been completed. On the other hand, since there is space in the original verse 'Preparing [Founding] a great Future' to have interlined 'full grown', there is no apparent reason to have written it below the line.

[leaf 2 verso, fragment of a letter draft, written in pencil in Whitman's hand, deleted by a blue-crayon stroke.]

idea, (very likely a kink) | that the forehead may be | made to look as much | like a splash of light | as will be consistent with | all else— & without the in-|tention being too evident— | —As I also told you, I | ['don't' *deleted*] will be satisfied with | ['b' *deleted*] very little work on the | the outside of the picture, | but want *your own touch*, | *spirit* ['*freedom*' deleted] *truth*, | *freedom of style* on the | head & especially the central | part thereof—though I suppose | the whole hangs together | —['The' *deleted*] | The $50 ['is ready'

deleted] will be promptly remitted | I send you a newspaper with | an item in! Write me—or ['if' *deleted*] should | you come Philadelphiaward | of

[leaf 4 verso, fragment of writing on the irregularly cut strip used to paste the pieces together. The first note is in pencil in the upper right corner, which the papermaker's die shows to have been the head of the original leaf from which the strip was cut. The rest is in black ink, except as indicated.]

they not cut | down the trees | *in winter*?
lifornia song,
to breathe as air
alpable, as is the air,
the future
and indirection
impalpable, to
ir, but not in w
ce—out of the eart
voice
of a wight
in the
forest dense

3 to breathe as air] interlined above 'as is the air,' but both seemingly intended for deletion by a single diagonal stroke.

4 the future] crossed through in ink. What looks like a 'to' precedes 'the'.

7 but not in w] this and the rest of the fragment is written in pencil, and not much can be made of the interlinings. A second strip contains only the pencil letters 't vo', the latter broken off.

[Verso of top piece of leaf 11 and the backing strip]

deal with me. But do not | fail to give me some account | (I hope it may be good) of | your health | And believe me | Very heartily yours | W Y Linton [?]

[Separate Letter]

Franklin Square,
New York, November 1, 1873.

Mr. Walt Whitman,
Dear Sir,

I send enclosed Messrs Harper & Brothers' check for One Hundred Dollars ($100—), in payment for your poem, "Song of the Redwood Tree."

The Messrs Harpers do not object to the subsequent publication of the poem in book-form, provided such publication is not made until six months after the appearance of the poem in their Magazine.

With thanks for your poem (of which I will send you proofs in a few days), & the best wishes for your welfare, I am

Sincerely yours
H. M. Alden,
Ed. Harper's Mag.

PS. The poem will appear in an early number. HMA

FREDSON BOWERS

*The "Quodlibeta" of Petrus Joannes Olivi**

Petrus Joannes Olivi was a friar of the Order of Minorites who was born about 1248 at Sérignan, Hérault, Languedoc, and died probably on March 16, 1297 (or 1298?) in a monastery at Narbonne.[1] He wrote several works, few of which were printed in the early period, but which have been edited or commented on by a number of modern scholars.[2] He was considered in his own day a dangerous, semi-heretical writer, although the Franciscan bibliographer Joannes a Sancto Antonio claims that he was cleared by Pope Sixtus IV.[3] His *Quodlibeta* was printed apparently in circumstances of some secrecy, for it omits the date, place and name of printer; and, as though intentionally, the author's surname is buried in the text (on f. 51 [63] verso, col. 1, line 3) where it is most difficult to find.

The book is a folio of 76 leaves, printed in two columns, 67 lines to a column. The collation is A-G^{6}GG^{6}HH^{6}H^{6}I^{6}K^{4}L^{6}. It is foliated up to 63, with these errors: 1 for 2, 23 for 22, 31 for 29, 34 for 35, 43 for 55, and so on to the end. Hence the last foliated leaf, 63, should read 75. The last

* I should like to express my thanks to Dr. Luigi Michelini Tocci of the Vatican Library for his generous help both during my stay in Rome and since.

[1] L. Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (Rome, 1906), p. 190. For the best bibliography on Olivi, see U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1907), II, col. 3413.

[2] Such as Leo Seidel, *Natur und Person. Metaphysische Probleme bei Petrus Joannes Olivi, etc.* (Würzburg, 1938); Bernhard Jansen, *Die Erkenntnislehre Olivis, etc.* (Berlin, 1921). Cf. Seidel, *op. cit.*, p. 88: "Quodlibeta, Druck um 1500, im Besitz der Bayer. Staatsbibliothek."

[3] *Bibliotheca universa Franciscana.* Madrid. II (1733), 455-457.

leaf is blank. Copinger (4986) and Reichling (fasc. III, p. 161) took it to be an incunable, Reichling attributing it to the press of Wolfgang Hopyl at Paris, c. 1495, and adding that the types are those of an edition of Johannes de Sacro Busto, *De Sphaera,* which Hopyl completed on September 1, 1500. I have not seen this edition of the *De Sphaera,* but it is represented in Columbia University Library, the Huntington Library and the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels (Stillwell J380 and Polain 2307). Polain's descriptions of the types, for which he refers us to Claudin's illustrations, are soon seen to be inapplicable to the *Quodlibeta.* Reichling's attribution is therefore difficult to explain, especially as the book has an obviously Venetian appearance. Of the four principal types used (all gothic, and measuring respectively about 71, 80, 98 and 120 mm.) the smallest is different from any described by Haebler. The M is Haebler's 87, while the M of the larger types is not to be found in Haebler. One's first reaction, therefore, is to suppose that the book was printed in Venice after 1500. This was confirmed recently when I paid a visit to the Vatican, for in the card catalogue of the Vatican Library the late Don Tommaso Accurti has correctly ascribed the book to the press of Lazaro de' Soardi at Venice circa 1505. He adds: "Cf. per i caratteri tipografici il Prop. II. 138 (1) che è edizione veneta di Lazaro de' Soardi del 1509." This is a copy of pt. 3 of Ricardus de Mediavilla's *Questiones* on the *Sententiae* of Peter the Lombard, printed in five parts, each having various dates between June 1, 1507 and September 22, 1509. The British Museum has two complete copies of this work.

Fortunately the *Quodlibeta* contains a wide variety of woodcut initials belonging to different alphabets, and close comparison reveals that these initials (including a distinctive, very thin capital I) are not only identical with many of those used in the Ricardus de Mediavilla, but are in almost the same state as those found in a Herveus Natalis, *In quattuor Petri Lombardi sententiarum volumina scripta* (British Museum 3833. d. 10) which Lazaro de' Soardi signed at Venice on January 3, 1505. For example, the initial Q on f. A2 recto of the *Quodlibeta,* containing two Cupids and a dog, is also found on sig. b2 recto of the Natalis in the same state; while on f. 42 recto of the *Quodlibeta* the capital O seems to be from the same block as the capital Q on sig. c3 verso of the Natalis, with the tail of the Q blacked out. Certain breaks in the woodcut borders occur in the same places in the two books, and for this reason it seems safe to ascribe the *Quodlibeta* to about the year 1505, and not to place it as late as the Ricardus de Mediavilla. Sessevalle's mention of 'cinq Quodlibets imprimés à Venise en 1509' may

refer to this edition, but if so, it is difficult to know how he arrived at the date.[4] The connection in subject-matter between the three books throws some interesting light on the type of literature which Lazaro de' Soardi was producing in the first decade of the sixteenth century.

To Accurti is due the credit not only of establishing the printer and the approximate date of the *Quodlibeta,* but also of cataloguing it for the first time under the correct form of the author's name. As has been shown, his surname occurs once only, in lower case, towards the end of the text. There is however on f. 1 verso a tetrastich to the reader, as follows:

> Perlege lector opus Petri sublime Ioannis
> Quod summi redolet dogmata sacra Dei:
> Nil nisi catholicum et sanctum sonat iste libellus:
> Quis poterit contra cum ratione loqui?

The first *Quodlibet,* opening the text on f. 2 recto, further tells us that the work is that of "Petri Ioānis ꝑuēzalis doctoris solēnissimi or. mino^{24}." This led Copinger and Marais and Dufresne[5] to enter him under the extraordinary form PUENZALIS. Reichling saw that this was absurd, corrected it to PROVENZALIS, but still failed to find OLIVI in the book.

Copies of this rare work have been located in the following libraries, although I have not confirmed whether the Munich and Naples copies survived the 1939-45 war:

1. Westminster Abbey, London. (Bound in seventeenth-century brown sheepskin with the arms of Westminster Abbey gold-tooled on the cover.)
2. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.
3. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
4. Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, III. F. 4.
5. Rome, Vatican, Ediz. Prop. IV. 134.
6. Bodleian Library, Oxford, B. 9. 8. Th.
7. University Library, Cambridge, G*. 9. 22(C). (Imperfect, wanting the first leaf.)

Dennis E. Rhodes

The British Museum

[4] Fr. de Sessevalle, *Histoire générale de l'ordre de Saint François,* pt. 1, tom. 1 (Paris, 1935), p. 450.

[5] *Catalogue des incunables de la Bibliothèque Mazarine, par Paul Marais et A. Dufresne de Saint-Léon* (Paris, 1893), p. 735, no. 1315. This entry makes no attempt to identify the printer.

Book Reviews

GREG, W. W., *The Shakespeare First Folio. Its Bibliographical and Textual History*. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press [New York, Oxford University Press], 1955. xvi, 496 pp. 8¾ x 5½ inches. 42s, $6.75.

In his Preface to this distinguished volume the author writes: "This account of the Shakespeare First Folio was originally planned as an introduction to a facsimile of the volume. The scheme for a facsimile fell through, but the introduction got itself written in an extended form and now appears independently. . . . The work makes no pretence to originality. All I have tried to do is to set out the evidence and summarize on each point under discussion the view now generally held by scholars, or, if there is no commonly accepted opinion, the view that seems in best accord with the evidence. I am, of course, perfectly aware that this means that I have expressed the views with which I personally agree; but I have endeavoured to be as objective as possible."

This is too modest a description of a book which represents the considered opinions of the dean of Shakespearean textual students, whose published work on the First Folio began more than fifty years ago with "The Bibliographical History of the First Folio," which is in effect a thirty-page review in *The Library* (New Series, IV, 1903, pp. 258-285) of Sidney Lee's Introduction to a collotype facsimile of the First Folio (1902), and includes such authoritative works as "The First Folio and its Publishers," (in *Studies in the First Folio*, edited by Israel Gollancz, 1924), "Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare," (a British Academy Lecture, 1928), and *The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare* (1942). Yet, for all their becoming restraint, these lines emphasize the fact that in the fascinating realm of textual study it is too much to expect that absolute certainty can ever be attained; there will always be schools of thought and opinion, and gospel truth may possibly never replace working hypothesis, conjecture, or inference. Here is a field in which a man must be prepared to live and learn. And this fact is further underscored by the author when he speaks of his subject as one "in which research is active and in which opinion is constantly changing. For if the whole outlook of Shakespearian textual criticism has altered in the past fifty years, the rate of change has also been

progressive and is now alarming. Indeed, I fear that despite our efforts some of what I have here written may be out of date before it gets into the reader's hands." And, indeed, there is a postscript to the Preface referring to the unpublished work of John W. Shroeder, which Sir Walter has been privileged to see, that indicates that the irregularities in the printing of the First Folio are greater than scholars have as yet been aware. At any rate here is the truth as it appeared to a trained and experienced veteran in June, 1954. Since that date Professor Fredson Bowers' Rosenbach lectures *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists* have been published, and Professor Charlton Hinman (*Shakespeare Quarterly,* VI, 1955, pp. 259-273) from "Cast-off Copy for the First Folio of Shakespeare" suggests a new hypothesis as to how the book was made, and promises a full account when his current investigations have been completed.

The problem to which all textual students of Shakespeare set their minds was posed in the address "To the great Variety of Readers" which was prefixed to the First Folio edition of 1623 and signed by Shakespeare's fellow actors, John Heminge and Henry Condell:

> It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarse receiued from him a blot in his papers.

If language means anything, here is a statement that would seem to justify a very pessimistic view of the accuracy of any previous printing of a single play, mitigated, somewhat, by the testimony, of those who should have known, that Shakespeare was a facile writer whose papers, fair or foul, were in better shape than the average, and hence would give a minimum of difficulty to either players or printers. Yet, from what is known about Elizabethan dramatic manuscripts, there might be many a slip between what the author originally wrote and what has finally come down to us in a printed text. The textual problem in Shakespeare is one of transmission of what the author once committed to paper. Had Shakespeare him-

self lived to collect his plays, oversee the printing, and read the proofs, part of the problem would have been dispelled; textual difficulties are very different in the plays of Ben Jonson, who did oversee the printing of his First Folio. But only part of the problem would then be non-existent. There are still the separate plays which appeared during Shakespeare's lifetime—fourteen of them in forty-four editions, plus *Othello* (1622), which appeared after his death, and *Pericles* (1609), which was omitted from the First Folio—and these quarto editions in differing degrees present so many variants that they constitute a major problem or series of problems in themselves. Generally speaking, today, few scholars are so pessimistic about the origin of the quartos as the words of the First Folio editors, quoted above, might lead them to suppose; nor do they condemn out of hand, as Heminge and Condell did, all quartos as "stolne," "surreptitious," "maimed," or "deformed," and their perpetrators "iniurious impostors" bent upon fraud. An investigation of the publishing conditions and practices of Shakespeare's day, and particularly a more thorough examination of the quartos and folios themselves, has encouraged optimism. Not all are bad, even if one insists upon agreement with the First Folio as the sole criterion of accuracy in a quarto text; indeed, only a few: *Romeo and Juliet* (Q_1, 1597), *Henry V* (Q_1, 1600), *The Merry Wives* (Q_1, 1602), *Hamlet* (Q_1, 1603), and *Pericles* (Q_1, 1609), seem to represent some kind of inaccurate reproduction of what the author wrote, or some memorial, reportorial, or similar reconstruction of it. Occasionally *The Taming of A Shrew* (1594), *The First Part of the Contention Betwixt the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster* (1594), and *The True Tragedie of Richard, Duke of York* (1595), once looked upon as early drafts or source plays, are now added to the list, but there is as yet no unanimity of agreement about them. Dr. Greg, for instance, rejects the theory as applicable to *A Shrew* (pp. 210-212), but accepts it for *2* and *3 Henry VI* (pp. 176 ff.). Other plays, like *Richard III, King Lear, Troilus and Cressida,* and *Othello,* where quarto and folio texts also differ considerably, present special puzzles of their own. So in a still different way does the two-part *Troublesome Reign of King John* (1591); for purposes of copyright in 1623 it also was considered as identical with the Shakespearean play on the same subject.

What concerns the textual critic is what happened to Shakespeare's words between the time when he wrote them down and the time when they appeared in print. What kind of copy—fair or foul—lay before the compositors of quarto or folio in the printing office? Was it Shakespeare's

own autograph manuscript, or a derivative of it, close or remote? For some texts the answer is simply the author's "foul papers," i.e., his last rough draft; for others it is more complexly the author's fair copy after it had seen service as a prompt-book in the theatre and was later revised by reference to corrupt printed texts. Further, how scrupulously did the typesetters follow the copy they had? From the documentary evidence we have is it possible to arrive at a coherent theory of the origins and relations of various texts, or to reconstruct the history of a playhouse manuscript? Many have thought so.

Dr. Greg's book is a statement of the case to date, but it is more than a mere résumé of received opinion. It is also a scholarly evaluation of discarded hypotheses, a critical appraisal of the work of many students, and an enunciation of both faith and knowledge. Only occasionally, as in the case of the quarto *Richard III* (1597) and *King Lear* (1608) are the theories here advanced doubtfully more credible than those Dr. Greg rejects. And in the case of the former text (p. 197), the author admits that the hypothesis is rather untidy; with that of the latter he seems still a little dissatisfied and unconvinced (pp. 375-384), as he was in 1942 (*The Editorial Problem*, p. 96) with the theory of stenographic report he had once tentatively accepted (*Variants in the First Quarto of King Lear*, 1940).

The Shakespeare First Folio is to our generation what A. W. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685* (1909) was to its day. Pollard's book was also undertaken as the introduction to a Folio facsimile, or a series of facsimiles, and comparison between the two works is inevitable. It is easy to say that during the intervening years much water has passed under the mill. In the nature of the case Pollard's work was that of a pioneer; in his day little that could be reckoned final in textual criticism had been completed, and not much progress had been made. But the beginnings were there. The Cambridge editors, Clark, Glover, and Wright, had produced a conservative text based upon extensive collation. The Griggs and Praetorius Quarto Facsimiles of the 1880's, though poorly reproduced and with uneven introductions, had stimulated and made possible for more students an examination of the relations between the various editions of single plays and the Folio. So had the production of Sir Sidney Lee's *Facsimile of the First Folio* (1902), which, however, had an extremely vulnerable introduction. But, except here and there, little had as yet been done in the Higher Criticism, i.e., the effort to discover what the nature of Shakespeare's manuscripts might have been, and what happened to them in the playhouse and

the printing office. The essential distinction of Pollard's work—in the volume already named and elsewhere, especially in *Shakespeare's Fight With the Pirates* (1917, 1920)—remains unchallenged; he opened the door to neo-bibliographical study, rehabilitated the textual authority of all but a few admittedly "bad" quartos, and led the way to speculation about the origin of all texts, quarto or Folio. Of these students J. Dover Wilson was the most ingenious and speculative.

The present volume takes full account of the important work, not only of Pollard, but also of subsequent scholars, English and American, particularly of the past twenty or twenty-five years: R. W. McKerrow, E. K. Chambers, Dover Wilson, Peter Alexander, Alice Walker, G. I. Duthie, Philip Edwards; E. E. Willoughby, Fredson Bowers, Madeleine Doran, Charlton Hinman, Philip Williams, R. C. Bald, and D. L. Patrick.

Dr. Greg's book is divided into six chapters which may be partially summarized as follows: (1) "Planning the Collection" (the selection of William Jaggard as printer, the business relations of the syndicate which published the book, and the Pavier collection of 1619); (2) "Questions of Copyright" (the conditions of orderly publication in Shakespeare's day, entrance in the Stationers' Register, assignment of copyright, replacement of "bad" texts by "good," ownership of Shakespeare's copy, and editions prior to 1623); (3, 4, 5) "Editorial Problems": (a) the editors' task—canon, arrangement, and selection of texts; (b) types of text at the editors' disposal: foul papers, prompt-books, private transcripts, memorially contaminated manuscripts, assembled texts, and their characteristics; (c) the individual plays; and (6) "The Printing": typographical explanations and peculiarities, compositors, make-up, interruptions and dislocations in the printing, time-table of printing, proof-reading, and standard of accuracy.

It is significant of the trend in bibliographical scholarship that there is less in this book about the adventures of the author's manuscripts in the playhouse than about what probably happened in the print shop. Manuscript prompt-books are less frequently invoked than the author's foul papers. There is less about scribes, bookkeepers, revisers, and their peculiar machinations and more about compositors and how they can be determined. One hears less about the Jolly Rogers of the book-trade, and to account for the "bad" quartos the theory of piracy by stenography (thanks to Professors G. N. Giordano-Orsini and G. I. Duthie[1]) has given way

[1] The theory of shorthand piracy has rested largely upon Thomas Heywood's testimony in the preface to *The Rape of Lucrece* (1608), which he said was "copied

to a theory of memorial reconstruction and assembled texts. The pirate actor in a road company has replaced the note-taker. Frequently it is startling to hear that theories which have in recent years been advanced as new or thought of as very original are really old. Thus, it was over a hundred years ago that Samuel Hickson expressed his belief that *A Shrew* is a derivative of *The Shrew* (*Notes and Queries*, 1850); that as early as 1879 Alexander Schmidt maintained the view that the 1608 quarto of *King Lear* was a reported text; that in 1880 Schmidt and others advanced a similar suggestion that the 1597 quarto of *Richard III* was also a report.

It is impossible in short space adequately to summarize the conclusions of a 500-page book. One fact still remains untarnished. When all is said and after all the theories of origin and manipulation have been reconsidered, the great debt which the world owes to the editors of the First Folio of Shakespeare is still impressive, in spite of the variety of textual material which was at their disposal. Of the thirty-six plays there included, twenty-two were there printed either for the first time, or at any rate for the first time in a reliable text, and it now seems clear that in each instance they were printed from a playhouse manuscript. In this book Dr. Greg gives his reasons for believing that eleven of the Folio texts were printed from the author's foul papers or transcripts of them: *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Henry V*, *All's Well*, *Measure for Measure*, *Timon of Athens*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*, *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *Henry VIII*. Not all, however, were of the same degree of finish. The foul papers which yielded the text of *Timon* had never before been reduced

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only by the ear," and the prologue (composed c. 1632) to a "Play of Queen Elizabeth" (*If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*, Part I, published by Nathaniel Butter, 1605):

> some by stenography drew
> The plot: put it in print (scarce one word true).

But in a communication to *The Times* (T. L. S., December 4, 1930) and later in an article in *The Library* (Fourth Series, XIV, 1933-34, pp. 313-338), Professor G. N. Giordano-Orsini demonstrated that Heywood probably was mistaken and that a theory of note-taking by a stenographer in the theatre does not account for peculiarities of Heywood's text, which are more readily accounted for in other ways. The capabilities of Elizabethan shorthand of producing a theatrical text were further questioned by G. I. Duthie (*The 'Bad' Quarto of* Hamlet, 1941, and *Elizabethan Shorthand and the Quarto of* King Lear, 1949). The theory of memorial reconstruction was first advanced by Dr. Greg himself in the introduction to an edition of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1910) and developed by R. Crompton Rhodes (*Shakespeare's First Folio*, 1923) after a study of the text of Sheridan, which was so reconstructed, and by Peter Alexander (*Shakespeare's* Henry VI *and* Richard III, 1929) from a suggestion by J. S. Smart (*Shakespeare: Truth and Tradition*, 1928, pp. 191 ff.).

to anything like order; the lines and scenes are still irregular, rough, inchoate, even incoherent. Those for *Measure for Measure, The Winter's Tale,* and *The Tempest* appear to have been transcribed by Ralph Crane, scribe for the Globe, since the text reveals his peculiarities. Those for *Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, The Tempest,* and *Henry VIII* had been elaborately prepared for production. Foul papers, Dr. Greg believes, also lie behind thirteen of the "good" quartos, and therefore ultimately behind the Folio texts printed from the "good" quartos: *Titus Andronicus, Love's Labor's Lost, Romeo and Juliet* (Q_2 and Q_3), *Richard II* (Q_3 and Q_5), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Q_2), *The Merchant of Venice* (Q_2), *1 Henry IV* (Q_5 edited), *2 Henry IV, Much Ado, Hamlet* (Q_2), *Troilus and Cressida,* and *Othello,* the last two through private transcripts, and *King Lear,* through a careless transcript, memorially contaminated. Foul papers may also have been used for collation with quartos of *Richard III* (Q_3 and Q_6) and *Troilus and Cressida.*

A prompt-book of some kind, either a fair copy so used or a quarto which so served, lies behind at least twelve more Folio texts: *1, 2,* and *3 Henry VI* (subsequently revised), *The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Titus Andronicus* (a quarto so used), *King John, Julius Caesar, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, The Merry Wives, Macbeth* (cut and altered), and *Cymbeline.* Two —*The Two Gentlemen* and *The Merry Wives*—seem to have been in transcriptions by Ralph Crane. Prompt-copy may also have been behind the quarto *Richard III* (1597) and been used to collate quartos of *Richard II, 2 Henry IV, Hamlet, King Lear,* and *Othello,* and possibly even *A Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice,* and *Much Ado.*

Thus, highly authentic copy, no doubt the best at the editors' disposal, is involved in the case of every play in the First Folio. In at least eight cases the editors printed directly from what was probably Shakespeare's autograph, in eleven cases more from a quarto that had been so printed. In other cases they prepared their texts by a diligent collation of playhouse copy. Only certain quartos are accounted for by memorial reconstruction of a prompt-book for a provincial company, or by some other kind of report: *Richard III* (Q_1 1597), *2 Henry VI* (Q_1 1594 as *The First Part of the Contention*), *3 Henry VI* (Octavo 1595 as *The True Tragedie*), *Romeo and Juliet* (Q_1 1597), *Henry V* (Q_1 1600), *The Merry Wives* (Q_1 1602), and *Hamlet* (Q_1 1603). These now constitute the class of "bad" quartos, and each was replaced by a better text in the First Folio. Hence, while in strictness Heminge and Condell could hardly justify their claim of hav-

ing published Shakespeare's plays "according to the True Originall Copies" or "absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued them," they probably did the best they could. If the course they took cannot always be clearly followed or even believed to be straight, the short cuts they avoided are quite apparent.

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The Rothschild Library. A Catalogue of the Collection of Eighteenth-Century Printed Books and Manuscripts formed by Lord Rothschild. Cambridge, Privately printed at the University Press, 1954. 2 Volumes. 840 pp. Plates. 10½ x 7 inches. £15.15.5; $45.00.

The magnificent eighteenth-century library of Lord Rothschild, brought together with skill and acumen in slightly over two decades, is at Merton Hall, Cambridge; the contents, as presented in these volumes, make knowledge of it, with full descriptions, notes and provenance, available to world scholarship. The books and manuscripts, nearly three thousand in number, comprise a detailed representation of the literature of the century. Main credit for the preparation of the catalogue is given to Miss N. M. Shawyer, with credit for preliminary assistance to Miss K. M. Flack—and there is evidence of the guiding hand of Mr. John Hayward.

The arrangement of entries is alphabetical, plus such desirable groupings as "Anonymous," "Children's Books," "Miscellanies," "Periodicals," and "Sale Catalogues"; there are numerous cross references, a title index and a general index, and each entry is numbered. Additional material at the conclusion of Volume Two is listed under "Presses": Baskerville, Foulis (we may be grateful for anything on the Foulis brothers) and Strawberry Hill; and under "Bindings": English, Scottish and Irish, with fine groups of Roger Payne and books bound for Thomas Hollis. There are sixty collotype illustrations. Both the arrangement and the presentation are worthy of the library itself.

The descriptions of the individual items are of uniform excellence. Their preparation obviously involved a vast amount of independent investigation as well as the verification of generally accepted references: the descriptive notes on a number of items run to a page or more and include much information previously unavailable.

The contents of the library include a large portion of the major books

of English eighteenth-century literature with occasional pieces of scientific, medical, historical or artistic interest. It is impossible to indicate the true richness of the library merely by calling attention to certain portions, but it is a temptation not to be resisted. The pages devoted to Boswell include many pamphlets on the extended and complicated Douglas Cause in which Boswell the lawyer played a rôle. William Cowper is eminently well represented by a collection of manuscripts, manuscript drafts and corrected proofs of his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey;* Daniel Defoe, by copies of some of his most important works. Henry Fielding's major works appear in splendid copies. There are, as well, an apparently unique copy of the London edition of his *Stultus versus Sapientem* (the attribution has been challenged) and a number of his early comedies. It is no surprise to find books from the library of Edward Gibbon present, but more than seventy volumes is certainly a fine showing. Lord Rothschild's first copy of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was formerly in the library of Horace Walpole, and Gibbon's copy of Herodotus has extensive and valuable marginal comment by its former owner. There is excellent Goldsmith and Gray, a very worthy representation of Dr. Johnson, and an especially fine collection of Alexander Pope. Christopher Smart, Smollett, Steele and Sterne lead to the one hundred pages devoted to Swift and Swiftiana, surely the most remarkable portion of the library. It is a collection of which Lord Rothschild and Cambridge may rightly be proud, particularly for the extensive group of manuscripts and letters, books from Dean Swift's library, and about one hundred items of Swiftiana. As a reference work on Swift this section forms a vital supplement to Teerink, and for the many works it treats will certainly stand on its own merits. There are other sections of the bibliography, e.g. the Fountaine Library, the Giffard manuscripts, and the works of William Wagstaffe, which are directly related to Swift. The entries for James Thomson and Horace Walpole are models of accuracy.

Some of the highlights of the library which do not appear among the works of the more celebrated authors of the century are William Blake's annotated copy of Bishop Berkeley's *Siris*, and Sir Joshua Reynolds' copy of Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty*. The 1749 edition of John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* may well be the first edition—there is no copy of the equally rare *An Essay on Woman* by John Wilkes, alas, though several items listed under Wilkesiana are concerned with it. Mrs. Siddons' copy of the Tate-J. P. Kemble version of *Shakspeare's King Lear* is a fine association item; the date of presentation in the collotype illustration looks

like 1795, however, and not 1796 as transcribed in the provenance. There is a valuable bibliographical entry on the "Pope-Swift Miscellanies" (1727-1732), and an unrecorded edition of *Sheridan's Address to the People* (York [1803]); the London edition, undated, but presumably also 1803, might have been mentioned in the notes. Two copies of the Bristol edition of *Lyrical Ballads,* one containing a correction and an additional verse to "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" in the autograph of S. T. Coleridge, round out the alphabet as well as the century.

The Rothschild Library has the quality of being remarkably free from error insofar as this reviewer has been able to test it, and errors noticed are usually of little consequence. No copy of the first edition of *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (No. 608) is known to have survived, but two copies of the second edition of 1766 exist in the collections of Mr. Edgar S. Oppenheimer and Mr. and Mrs. Opie. With the exception of its first appearance the first name of Cortlandt F. Bishop is spelled Cortland throughout in the provenance notes. The dates for the *Ashley Catalogue* on p. xiii of Volume One should read 1922-1936.

Lord Rothschild's work covers the entire century, with authors who left early and entered late, and includes a large percentage of their significant writings. He has made a notable contribution to one of the most intricate fields of collecting and bibliography.

HERBERT CAHOON

The Pierpont Morgan Library

WEBB, ROBERT KIEFER. *The British Working Class Reader 1790-1848; Literacy and Social Tension.* London, Allen & Unwin, 1955. 192 pp. 18s.

For some reason, scholarly studies of the rôle of the printed word in nineteenth-century English society are virtually non-existent. While historians generally have recognized that the spread of literacy and the development of a cheap press had manifold and profound consequences, they have been content to repeat a few familiar "facts" (not all of which can stand critical examination), and more than a few clichés. In this compact, readable book Professor Webb not only illuminates a long-misunderstood aspect of the topic but provides a model for the many monographs that are still to be written on related themes.

Mr. Webb's special concern is the "crisis literature" of the period from Tom Paine to the Chartists—an era when the threat of proletarian revolution was never wholly absent from the English mind. On several oc-

casions, indeed, the nation barely escaped the fate France had suffered at the end of the eighteenth century. Springing from a variety of causes—the reactionary attitude of the government both before and after the first Reform Bill, the misery bred by wartime inflation and then by ruthless exploitation of a surplus labor market, the general social havoc stemming from the Industrial Revolution—the spirit of working-class revolt was articulated and spread by the press. This was a novel phenomenon in English life, made possible only by the fact that more workers than ever before could, in a fashion, read.

The existence of this new reading public caused grave alarm among the ruling classes, for the printing press was at the disposal of every demagogue. First the government tried repression and persecution; but though these stern measures were effective against the Jacobinism of the 1790's, their readoption against Cobbett, Wooler, Hone, and others of the new generation of radicals merely added fuel to the flames. The simultaneous use of counter-propaganda cannot be credited with even an initial success. Though Hannah More's Cheap Repository Tracts, which sought to reconcile the workers to their humble place in the divinely ordained social structure, had an immense circulation, their constructive influence on working-class attitudes was at least as slight as that of the vast tract literature which followed in the nineteenth century. And on the secular side, the publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, dedicated to converting the masses to the gospel of "political economy," were equally ineffectual.

It is here, in his coolly critical narrative of the attempts which the upper and middle classes made to pacify and brain-wash the workers through print, that Mr. Webb most notably corrects the received historical tradition. Although contemporaries like Thomas Love Peacock and William Cobbett saw clearly enough, from their respective vantage-points, how selfish in motivation and misguided in practice were the publishing schemes of the Useful Knowledge Society, most historians have adopted (or at least failed to contest) Lord Brougham's absurdly high estimate of his organization's success. In fact, it might be said that Brougham had better luck pulling the wool over the eyes of posterity than he did over those of his own generation. The truth, as Mr. Webb makes clear, is that the appearance of a working-class reading public, seething with rebellion, found the ruling element of English society totally unequipped with the proper techniques for dealing with it, and that its various efforts to combat the "seditious," "atheistic" popular press revealed how ignorant it was of the

real nature of the common man's grievances, his loyalties, and his needs. The strategy underlying the campaign—"if you can't lick 'em, make 'em join you"—may have been sound enough in theory, but nobody knew how to apply it; almost all the writers who understood the workers' psychology, and in addition commanded a style fit for an ill-educated audience, were on the people's side. As a result, the great bulk of the writings designed to spread oil over the troubled waters did no such thing; on the contrary, so far as they were read by workers at all, their ineptness and their patronizing manner helped intensify proletarian feeling.

Independent research, often using a quite different sampling of material from that which Mr. Webb cites, has led me to conclusions very similar to his. I do, however, question whether literacy was as widespread among the English working class in the first half of the nineteenth century as he maintains. And even if between two-thirds and three-quarters of the workers actually were literate (the estimate given on p. 22), what was the quality of that literacy? Could even a majority of the "literates" comprehend prose of the level found in the popular propaganda of the time? As recent controversy has demonstrated—and as every teacher has known for a long time—the number of Johnnies and Joannies who can't read, in any really effective way, is still disturbingly large. A leading British psychologist estimated ten years ago (*British Journal of Educational Psychology*, XV [February, 1945], 21) that between 15% and 20% of the adult population of England and Wales could not comprehend a short paragraph in a newspaper or simple directions on a package. If this is so in an age of highly refined educational techniques and compulsory schooling, how much more numerous, in an era of appallingly inadequate education, must have been the men and women who, while officially literate, in reality were unable to understand the simplest kind of writing! Had Mr. Webb accompanied his discussion of literacy with a description of the schools that working-class children attended for a year or two, it would become evident, I think, that the whole story is by no means told by statistics.

But, as the qualification in the subtitle suggests, this book makes no pretence of dealing fully with any aspect of the British working-class reader other than his experience of print as it affected, and was affected by, the political, social, and economic tensions of the times. Hence it touches only briefly upon the cheap sensational literature that by the 1840's was becoming the most appetizing part of the mass reading diet; it deals only in summary with the flood of religious literature addressed to the million;

and the mechanics' institutes—another sputtering engine of Useful Knowledge—are only glanced at. These and numerous other phases of the complex problem of the place print had in an increasingly democratic society await the same meticulous examination that Mr. Webb has given to his chosen segment.

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